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A

Further Examination

OF OUR

Present *American* Measures

AND OF

The Reasons and the Principles

On which they are founded.

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BY THE AUTHOR OF
*Considerations on the Measures carrying on
with Respect to the British Colonies in
North-America.*

An English Whig can never be so unjust to his Country and to right Reason, as not to be of opinion; that in all civil Commotions, which Side soever is the wrongful Aggressor, is accountable for all the evil Consequences.

Lord Molefworth's Preface to Franco-Gallia.

In one and the same Nation, when the fundamental Principles of their Union are supposed to be invaded the only Tribunal to which the Complainants can appeal is that of the God of Battles, the only Process by which the Appeal can be carried on is that of a civil and intestine War.

Blackstone, b. 1, c. 3.

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Jan. 1776

Further Examination

OF OUR
PRESENT NATIONAL MEASURES

AND OF
THE REASONS AND THE PRINCIPLES
ON WHICH THEY ARE FOUNDED.

BY THE AUTHOR OF
CONSIDERATIONS ON THE
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
NORTH-BRIDGE.

An English Whig can never be so partial to his Country and
to right Reason, as not to be of opinion; that in all our
Constitutions which still retain the original principles
of Liberty, and which are not so much corrupted as
those of the present Government, there is a greater degree
of Liberty than in the present Government.
In one and the same Nation, when the same principles
of Liberty are supported, it is to be expected, that
the only difference to which the Government can be
subject, is that of the mode of its administration, and
the degree of its corruption. The only reason for
the present state of the Government, is that of
corruption, and that of corruption is the want of
Liberty.

Printed by R. O. T. W. L. J.
at the Press of the Author, North-Bridge.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE writer was not aware to what a length his work would run; until it had been some time in the press. He presumes however to publish it; now that it is printed. The public will no doubt find the proper remedy for its bulk by being no more troubled with it; than they please. Some very material alterations have happened in our American affairs; since that it was first in the printer's hands. Certain accounts are come of the Provincials having made themselves masters of Fort St. John's, Chamblee and Montreal in Canada and of their approaching or besieging Quebec. Our people likewise appear to have burnt some places and to have attempted more on the sea-coast. These things affect the subject before us and especially with respect to the terms of peace and of accommodation. The Reader is therefore desired to make in his mind allowance for this change of circumstances.

ADVERTISEMENT

ERRATA.

Page 42, line 27, dele *base*.

P. 45, l. 18, for *under that infamy*, read *under the infamy*.

P. 56, l. 6, for *is* read *was*.

P. 60, l. 4, for *essential* read *especial*.

P. 61, l. 15, dele *under*.

P. 67, last line, for *defect* read *defects*.

P. 82, l. 13, for *and* read *or*.

P. 111, l. 20, for *mime* read *mine*.

P. 125, l. 13, for *out of the* read *from his*.

FURTHER EXAMINATION.

THE writer of the following papers has before troubled the public concerning our present civil contention : neither his words nor they of wiser than him were then heard ; our affairs are from being at those times bad become now much worse : these increasing difficulties do but too well warrant an individual to offer once more his humble sentiments on the subject : the counsels of those at the helm have hitherto not been so successful as to preclude all other from being proposed. Let us a little look back upon our history. We and our colonies of North-America were lately in the utmost harmony and tranquillity : the same state might have continued, if that our ministers could have been con-

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tented with it : they began to trouble it about the tea : that circumstance gave rise to some distasts and disturbances : these were pretended to require the sending of ships and of troops, the overturning of charters, the stopping up of ports and the taking away the inquest of blood in the country, where they happened. Fleets and armies are not always the best peace-makers nor oppression the surest cure for dissatisfaction. These means much increased the mischief. Our ministers thereupon repeated and heightened their remedies. We sent more men of war and more regiments having found such very ill effects from those, which went before : we strived to starve the people there by preventing their procuring provisions, which proved but an unlucky manner of reconciling them to us ; we forbade them their trade and their fisheries, by which means we drew from their leaders to ourselves the discontents arising from the restraints upon their commerce : We contrived to make the contest a common cause and quarrel of all our colonies, whereby we exceedingly weakened ourselves and strengthened to the greatest degree the league against us ; if any application

cation came from them or from any of the first men of our country on their behalf we answered it with rejection, lest they should slacken or suspend their operations from any hopes and expectations of peace. We have by this very extraordinary conduct brought on an open, an avowed, a declared civil war with thirteen colonies of that continent united and combined together against us. We have sown the seed, we have nursed, have watered, have raised and reared the plant; the tree is now come to its maturity, we find it to bear bitter fruit nauseous to the palate and noxious to the health; we pretend to complain of the owners of the soil; but the whole nation both at home and abroad must swallow down the poisonous produce, that our political quacks may have the profit and the benefit of administering it. This is the American scene. The same ministers have sown the dragon's teeth in our settlements of the East-Indies and are dooming to famine and to distress our islands of the West; Ireland is discontented and impoverished; Spain is armed; France is strengthening and recovering; the nation at home is desponding of its condition and sinking under its

burthens. We are in the mean time not to consider which way we came into these perplexities and difficulties ; we are not to return and to retreat by treading our steps backwards ; we are to go on because we have got so far ; our having begun at first with folly and with madness is an unanswerable reason for our proceeding with fury and with desperation.

All the old and the mutual ties, the union, the conjunction between Great-Britain and our ancient North-America are now cut, severed and dissolved : acts of parliament, acts of assembly, orders of council, charters are between us become only a dead letter and waste paper : the authority of the mother-country on the one hand and the duty of our colonies on the other are totally and absolutely cancelled : our protection is changed into war and into waste towards them and their dependence into resistance and into a return of hostility towards us : The dominion of Great-Britain over rich and vast territories so lately her own extends now no further than our cannon can command : we have parted with our prodigious possessions on that continent only for the hopes and the prospect of conquering

quering them again; they are in future all to be recovered by the dint of the sword and the push of the pike; the next relation or conditions between us must be just, as the chance of arms shall decide and determine; but what ought most nearly to concern us, we have parted with a people who have for ages past been to us most cordial, as countrymen; most affectionate, as friends; most faithful, as allies; most dutiful, as descendants and dependants; and, what some may value above all, most profitable and most beneficial, as inhabitants of our provinces. All considerations of interest discarded out of the question, can any man but be moved with the reflection of our ingratitude and our insensibility towards this community, who have certainly deserved after a very different manner at our hands? If statesmen and ministers must be made of stuff fit for such measures; God grant to me and to mine an humble life, in which we may preserve some remains and sensations of humanity!

Let us however banish all these foolish feelings of the human breast; let us leave the mean subject of morality to casuists

or to philosophers ; let us consider our present proceedings in the light only of policy and of ambition, the superior objects of the great and the sublime spirits, with whom we are going to reason and to argue. We are told by those the best informed, that this country contains three millions of souls. All due allowances therefore made for slaves or for any others not to be taken into our account, there will on that number remain not so few as four hundred thousand fighting or fencible men. Their popular forms of government suffer and enable them to arm all these : they are now in fact availing themselves of that advantage ; they are turning their whole country and continent into soldiery. We were before told what might be expected on this head : it gained then no credit : we shall now bid fair to believe our own eyes. These are circumstances, which majorities cannot at the command of a minister confirm or over-rule, as they please. Here is at our outset some small impediment in the way : four hundred thousand are a great many throats to cut of men able, ready and willing to defend themselves. These same people are likewise masters upon the spot and of every thing there.

France ever possessed Canada or Louisiana or that Spain ever held or claimed Florida. I am sorry to ask, whether there is not on their side another assistance besides not yet mentioned; which is the justice of their cause and its influence on the affairs of men. The ancestors of these people led by the general protection of Providence left formerly their native homes to avoid tyranny, cruelty and persecution: they placed themselves in these wilds and these wastes, which their descendants now enjoy and inhabit: their innocence, their desire of good order and of peace guarded and preserved them: their temperance, their frugality, their industry procured them plenty, property and various sorts of possessions. Is not it to be expected, that the same benevolent and all-protecting Power will extend his hand and his shield over them in this (as they think) just or justest of causes and in a contention not of ambition, not of oppression, not of rapaciousness on their part, but a due defence of these blessings and these benefits thus deservedly acquired or conferred upon them; I do not presume to signify by any immediate miracles or any special interposition, but by the means of those most excellent, those
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there. Their towns, their houses and their other buildings provide them with barracks; their wives and their children serve them for sutlers; their herds and their flocks furnish their provision: They are assisted with all these things and the contest is for them. Their desertions must be almost, as if trees were to desert their forests, they having in like manner been by the hand of nature planted and rooted, where they are. They are free and they fight to be free. Their governments partake of the principles, which magnified Greece and Rome and which made their citizens the first soldiers ever known in the world. They will both in council and in action be conducted by the best and the ablest men; which their continent contains and will supply for the purpose. Their country is one general and natural fortress, the defence of which its natives well understand. Should they with all these advantages stand in need of help from abroad, they will not fail to find it; as surely, as that we have the most potent nations upon the globe for constant and for inveterate rivals whether with regard to Europe, to Africa, to Asia or to this very America; I say, as surely, as that

most wise, those universal laws, which perpetually preserve and maintain the happiness and the harmony of the whole world?

So much for the party to be conquered, let us next consider the conquerors. The force now voted and spoken of as destined for that purpose is twenty-five thousand men upon paper; twenty-five thousand men for all America including the West-India Islands, the two Floridas, Canada and Nova-Scotia and taking credit for the troops now at Boston and elsewhere of that country to make a part of them after escaping Washington, the winter and all other chances. Such is the present apparent project and estimate. This body is however not yet collected: It is to be recruited from all countries and all quarters and much the greater part is then to sail more than three thousand miles to the scene of action. Does any one imagine, that North-America will ever see twenty thousand of these men at a time? Whoever does is right fit to make a minister of state in a country, that I know. These twenty thousand paper men however, what a prodigious power are they against four hundred

hundred thousand already and actually upon the spot! We were last year in contest with Massachusetts-bay only: we sent against them between four and five thousand men. It need not now be described how these were confined, immured and half starved in the town of Boston by the superior forces of that one single colony. Twenty thousand men are nevertheless to do wonders against thirteen colonies, which is less than sixteen hundred against each. What a wise and a deep policy and how much to be depended upon for the subduing of America? Will any Alexander of ours have much occasion to weep for another world or even another quarter of one to conquer? Forty thousand men, half Europeans and half Americans, directed by counsels very unlike ours of these days were employed at land in the late conquest of Canada. But what was that province? The incomparable act of Parliament lately planned and passed for its regulation informs us, that it consisted at its reduction of sixty-five thousand French inhabitants, not to attribute however too much to that authority, but to take them at one hundred thousand, (which is as many as they were or more) one hundred

dred thousand inhabitants, men, women and children made up in no small measure of priests and weakened with monasteries, what comparison or proportion do that number and strength bear to the millions occupying our thirteen colonies and affording above four hundred thousand men for their defence? How long did nevertheless their small militia without the aid of France prevented by a strong fleet from assisting them baffle all our efforts and our endeavours? May the shades of Braddock and of Abercrombie and of others rest in peace for me; who do not desire to disturb them again on this subject! These twenty thousand men upon paper are then to be fed from England and from our fleet, to be lodged and to be covered, as they can; to be recruited and to be reinforced at three thousand miles distance; to be in constant danger of their undoing by every little defeat or adversity; to contend with a new and a difficult climate, men fighting for a few pence a day, enlisted in service for life, victims of the lash and of other military torments and liable on the other side to be instead of these things tempted with lands and with liberty. I may appeal to experience, for how much

our

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our former armies there have on these accounts been weakened by death, disease and desertion. The extensive kingdom of France may invade the liberty of a small neighbouring Island inhabited by a barbarous people having no government, no union, no regular means of resistance, although the oppressors are there said to be sometimes sick of their work : Spain might with its guns, its horses and its dogs make havoc among the poor and the helpless natives of Mexico and of Peru ; but it never was and it may by the blessing of God perhaps never be known, that a nation or an army of slaves subdued a free people fairly and properly prepared for their defence. This is inconsistent with the whole history of the world : the eminent conquests and acquisitions among mankind, the rise and the ruin of empires have ever proceeded in a contrary course. With regard to the Government or the Administration by whose counsels this attempt is to be guided and conducted, I shall only observe ; that it is the same, which has in so short a space brought us out of our past into our present state ; which has planned and has executed and whose prudence and whose policy we have
so

so amply experienced in the American measures of these times. Having taken notice of the cause against us, I ought to make with it some comparison of our own; but to spill the blood, to spoil and to plunder, to lay waste with fire and with sword the habitations of a people, from whom we have received almost unspeakable profit and benefit, who gave to us a rich and a great country planted and improved at the cost and the hazard of themselves, who never entertained towards us a thought or a meaning of mischief, who, when our own squabbles or impatience or ambition and not their desires hurried us into war, have so often combated under our banners and contributed to our expences; is, I say, surely a service, at which the heart of every humane man in our army must turn and revolt. All mankind will condemn us and our ministers and will compassionate our oppressed countrymen: the hand of God and of man is on every part to be expected against us. With such disadvantages as to the means, with such circumstances as to the cause, order must be inverted and distraction must govern the world; rivers must run backwards; right must become wrong and wrong become right; strength must

must be weakness and weakness be strength; justice and oppression, humanity and tyranny had need to change their nature with each other, before that our administration can in the present contest conquer or prevail over our colonies. The all-commanding, universal influence has for the performance of his purposes no occasion to call fire from Heaven, monsters from the deep or famine from the earth; every creature, every event, every cause, every effect and with the rest the follies and the vices, the actions and the passions of men are constantly executing his will and his laws nor is there among all the means of wrecking the wrath and the vengeance of Heaven against an unfortunate nation destined to destruction perhaps any one worse or surer than a weak and a corrupt government.

Our navy however rides triumphant; we make acts of parliament at land and we execute them upon the ocean according to our pleasure. I shall not content myself with answering to this, that our fleet cannot fail over the continent nor our ships bombard woods and swamps; as experience may by this time have convinced

vinced us, if reason was before insufficient for that end; but I desire to touch on this subject a new* string, which has hitherto been hardly sounded. Is it supposed impossible, that we may be molested even upon that element, where we believe ourselves so much masters? The states of Barbary have no commerce or possessions abroad; they are therefore invulnerable in those respects. They keep ships of war and no other; by which means they make more prisoners from those on whom they prey, than these do in return from them. They are at land on their own ground the strongest. These particulars enable that people to impose a tribute upon every maritime power of Europe, Great-Britain not excepted; a tribute exacted of all by force and paid by all against their inclinations. We all of us term them piratical states, but none treat them as such, which we should undoubtedly do, if we durst. The ports of the Americans being shut up and their trade prohibited; they will with respect to us be under the same or on their side more advantageous circumstances: why will it then not be in their power to act likewise

* This was written some months ago.

likewise the same part towards us? They have creeks and bays which our vessels will not be able to visit: we may pronounce them pirates or rebels or what we please; they will hold themselves for independent states and will proceed as such: we may threaten them with the laws of our land and they will answer with those of reprisal. Our ministers have in a very short time brought us out of the most profound peace into the worst of civil wars; it is to be hoped, that they will not for their next step make this a war without quarter; which seems one of the very few means left them for adding to its mischief and its malignity. I don't mean, that I depend on the mercy or the compassion of some men; but the number of captives will probably be in that case against us and the outcry on their blood too strong at home to be withstood. The Spaniards and the Portuguese went that way to work with the Dutch; until that these made them to repent of their proceedings: they threw in return and in retaliation over-board into the sea ship's companies of their enemies at once in the East-Indies. God forbid, that we should ever read or hear such horrid relations between

tween Great-Britain and her colonies; the very supposition of which is sufficient to make the blood of any Englishman to run backward or his hair to stand upright. How long did private persons unavowed and unassisted by any public state carry on in the West-Indies a buccaneering war against the Spaniards and how severely did these feel the effects of it? Have not we by forbidding the American seamen their peaceable commerce and fisheries driven them, as it were, purposely and by force into privateers? How many thousands of them are there by such means at this moment ready, earnest, eager, watching and almost under a necessity to embrace any employment and opportunity of that sort, which may arise or offer themselves? I will not now inquire, whether they will want the assistance of British seamen; whether no part of these may join in plundering our merchants under American colours; what ports and in what parts of the world will probably be open to them; whether the East-India Company may not one day have reason to repent and to rue their share of these mischiefs. Does any one doubt but that a powerful resistance to Great-Britain and a more than equal

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contention

contention with her will soon give these states a consequence and a countenance among nations? Was it long before that our Commonwealth of England, as it was called, acquired a consideration with the powers and the empires of Europe? Did not success and advantage carry in a very short time the Dutch in their contest with Spain far beyond what they thought of or hoped for themselves in the beginning? How might some ministers start and stare were they to be told, that North-America may possibly become superior by sea to Great-Britain; before that they shall in the name of Great-Britain, have by land or by any other means conquered North-America; superior by sea to Great-Britain (if our island shall continue united) or to England, if the two parts of it shall by our future misfortunes and through these miserable measures be once more separated; I say, North-America now not mistress of one ship of war in the world and Great-Britain queen at this time of the ocean and the strongest maritime nation, that has hitherto appeared among mankind. What a comparison and how strange a disproportion! But how many most material events have already fallen out very differently

differently from the opinions and the expectations of those, who have conducted our counsels? What prodigies and miracles in mischief have by them been performed within the small compass of two years? Have they not lost, revolted, thrown away all our ancient North-America in less than that time? This prodigious naval power of ours now most justly making such an impression on our minds, who knows, whether it may long subsist under our present proceedings and how little do some men seem to consider from whence it has arisen and whereon it rests? I will not now enter into that field; it is a very wide one: it may comprehend not only certain late acts of parliament relating to the Newfoundland, the Labrador and to other fisheries, but likewise many more distant circumstances and perhaps the whole circle of the ministerial system. Should any one be on this head inclined to impeach the writer of presumption or of extravagance; I shall only answer, that there does not appear more cause, more reason to expect success from the present wild attempts and projects of such a conquest; than these give ground and foundation to apprehend, that the

other probability or possibility may by their means be brought about and take place not to-day or to-morrow, but within some moderate distance of time nor can I but observe that the plain and the proper method to prevent or to avoid both these extremities must be by an immediate accommodation and peace.

We will however ransack the earth on this occasion rather than to be frustrated of our ends and if we cannot for our purpose furnish sufficient forces from home we will hire them from abroad or we will confide to foreigners our domestic defence, while we sacrifice our own people beyond the Atlantic. Does then any one imagine, that our colonies will not find during this contest as many and as considerable resources in their favour, as our ministers are masters of to turn and to employ against them? Is the progress of these unhappy broils probable to be more on our side, than the beginning of them has been; at which moment our attempt might have been expected to make some impression, if it ever should? A few thousands of men were sent and went at first on this errand, as if there had been little more to do

do than to disperse a tumult in the streets. They were cooped up and besieged in Boston one whole year for their pains. These not humbling America to our minds, we multiplied them to their present complement, which it was not doubted would do the business. We have not however made much more way by that means: the provincials poured down and encamped thereupon their numbers in proportion. Our troops marched one day about a dozen miles into the country and were well pleased to come home with better speed, than they went out. We have in two campaigns so far proceeded towards the conquest of America. The Provincials now besiege our people with about eighteen thousand men in their lines; they keep nearly as many more cantoned in the same colony and within call; they are said to have in all not less than one hundred and fifty thousand armed and mustered: they can and they will have more, if they want: these however seem fully sufficient to face, to confine, to controul any power likely to be formed and to be brought against them on our part; they will nevertheless not burthen unnecessarily their country, but will be called forth into the field and into action,

accordingly as the occasion and the strength of their enemies shall require. Is not it evident to every one that the further we have hitherto proceeded in this affair, our object is but the more removed and the more distant from us ; that our provinces (I don't know, whether it is permitted me to term them the thirteen united provinces, but it may not be long, before that bigger and better than the writer will stile them by that title ; unless that we shall without delay take proper methods and very different from those hitherto pursued to prevent it) but, I say, is it not most evident, that they have improved and have fortified themselves in their defence much faster and more effectually, than we have gained and have advanced upon them in our attack ? Even Georgia spurns at us and has joined our enemies, while we are become proud of the friendship and the attachment of Nova-Scotia ; whom we do ourselves in a manner nourish and maintain. America is now in the middle of a long and a strong winter. This is a time and a season of advantage given to the natives by Providence : what events it may produce, no one yet knows ; but past experience will explain to us,
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how it is probable, that they may employ the opportunity and whether it is to be expected, that they will be well prepared and strengthened by the Spring. Are we sure, that even their ports and their coasts upon the sea will be always so open and so exposed to us, as they have hitherto been? These are in themselves certainly very serious considerations; is it however lawful for the administration to introduce at will foreign forces into Gibraltar and Port-Mahon? Can the King of Great-Britain give and grant these important possessions to Hanover and make them part and parcel of that electorate? They were purchased at a prodigious expence of the blood and the treasure of this country and were the only prizes of a very victorious war pretended at least to have been carried on in support of the protestant succession and are they after all not the public property of the nation, but the private patrimony of the prince? In what light must the people and the subject be looked upon, if that could be the case? A question of the like nature is said to have on the occasion of a certain letter in the time of King George the First been determined on the national

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side. If therefore such a preposterous power is clearly and undoubtedly beyond the jurisdiction of the crown; does not it of necessity follow, that neither can his Majesty's ministers take these fortresses out of the hands of our nation and deliver them into those of the other? I speak this with respect to that electorate remaining under the dominion of our King; but suppose, that the Emperor of Germany or the King of Prussia should in a fit of ill-humour or of ambition seize upon Hanover; who would then have Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, if they were garrisoned from thence? Would not he, who commanded the country, who was master of the wives and the families, of the estates and the concerns, of those, who had the custody of them? It may be observed, that there will notwithstanding this introduction of strangers remain for the present at least rather more Britons than Germans. But whoever is without the consent and the concurrence of our legislature intitled to send thither one company of such troops, must likewise be so to do the same by more; no bounds or particular number of men or of regiments can in that respect be pointed out and prescribed,

scribed. A greater proportion may more absolutely destroy, but a lesser will weaken our security. It is an utter absurdity and almost bordering upon ridicule to say; that the King is obliged to preserve to Great-Britain the right, but that his ministers may at their pleasure part with to another people the possession of those places. If we cannot be lawfully deprived of the posts themselves, so neither can we of the means necessary to hold and to retain them: these two circumstances are in the present case and of their own nature inseparably connected and united. There is also a report of twenty thousand Russians designed for America itself: that will be a prodigy indeed! Are then some of these to be raised in the neighbourhood of Kamchatka within three days sail of the eastern coast of America, to march over Russia and along-side of Asia, to sail through Europe, to pass by Africa and at length to land again on the opposite and the most distant part of America and to wage war there, as it were, with their antipodes; with a people against whom they have so little cause or pretence of quarrel; that perhaps hardly ever did a native of these newly-planted territories
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side. If therefore such a preposterous power is clearly and undoubtedly beyond the jurisdiction of the crown; does not it of necessity follow, that neither can his Majesty's ministers take these fortresses out of the hands of our nation and deliver them into those of the other? I speak this with respect to that electorate remaining under the dominion of our King; but suppose, that the Emperor of Germany or the King of Prussia should in a fit of ill-humour or of ambition seize upon Hanover; who would then have Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, if they were garrisoned from thence? Would not he, who commanded the country, who was master of the wives and the families, of the estates and the concerns, of those, who had the custody of them? It may be observed, that there will notwithstanding this introduction of strangers remain for the present at least rather more Britons than Germans. But whoever is without the consent and the concurrence of our legislature intitled to send thither one company of such troops, must likewise be so to do the same by more; no bounds or particular number of men or of regiments can in that respect be pointed out and prescribed,

scribed. A greater proportion may more absolutely destroy, but a lesser will weaken our security. It is an utter absurdity and almost bordering upon ridicule to say; that the King is obliged to preserve to Great-Britain the right, but that his ministers may at their pleasure part with to another people the possession of those places. If we cannot be lawfully deprived of the posts themselves, so neither can we of the means necessary to hold and to retain them: these two circumstances are in the present case and of their own nature inseparably connected and united. There is also a report of twenty thousand Russians designed for America itself: that will be a prodigy indeed! Are then some of these to be raised in the neighbourhood of Kamchatka within three days sail of the eastern coast of America, to march over Russia and along-side of Asia, to sail through Europe, to pass by Africa and at length to land again on the opposite and the most distant part of America and to wage war there, as it were, with their antipodes; with a people against whom they have so little cause or pretence of quarrel; that perhaps hardly ever did a native of these newly-planted territories
set

set his foot in the vast empire of Muscovy or a Russian visit these western regions of the world, until that now being urged and instigated by a British administration they shall have gone thither on this most unjust and most inhuman errand. How are they to be there recruited, assisted and supported with a good part of the globe between them and their own nation? Must they not melt away like snow in the sun, whose place is no more seen or supplied? Is this then the manner, in which our ministers make their conquests? Must heaven and earth be thus moved against a people, who were within these three years in perfect submission and obedience to us? In submission and in obedience do I say? who were united to us by the most cordial friendship, affection and attachment. How must the crest sink and the pride and the honour be humbled of Great-Britain in that moment, when we shall be seen under the necessity to employ Russian troops and Russian armies for the subduing to us our own provinces; we who have for many years past been the first and the foremost to meddle in every idle squabble, which could arise in any part of Europe and between

tween whatsoever nations? Must not we from that time become obsequious slaves of the court and the Empress of Peterburgh? Will our peace subsist, but at their pleasure? Must not our navies and our armies be at their devotion, if any such shall remain to us? If we have an interest there, why is not it employed to promote our trade and our commerce or will it not be very sufficiently wanted for that end? What star reigns, that we must turn to our ruin and our destruction, even our few benefits and advantages? Will Russia itself make such a return to our nation, as to sacrifice our country to the passions of our court? Fortune and France are however said to have saved us from this infatuation, when our own prudence and discretion would not have done it; France that signifies herself to be so friendly and so peaceable, that would not for the world have a finger in these mischiefs, that some men seem to think would hardly accept again of Canada, if it was offered to her. Let that report however be better or worse founded, as it may; let any such circumstances happen sooner or later, (for happen undoubtedly they will and probably at some conjuncture chosen

chosen by our enemies, if that these things proceed) Should we however send English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, Canadians, Indians, Hanoverians, Hessians, Russians, and as many more nations to waste from one end to the other with fire and with sword and with the worst horrors and havoc of war that whole continent so lately our own, of what benefit would all this be to Great-Britain? We had lately a monopoly of the commerce of the Americans; we have already obliged them to lay it open to all nations; we are now fighting to force an exclusion against ourselves; we are endeavouring to drive them into some new patronage and protection; this is the only possible end of our pains, should we by all these strange means make upon them much more impression, than there is the least appearance or probability of our being able to do. Is the poor wretch chained and confined to his cell upon clean straw in Bedlam possessed with more madness, than are these our own most extravagant schemes and projects, measures and mischiefs? This is however not all, that I have to say on the subject. There is in the way another obstacle, another impediment, more fatal, more difficult,

ficult, more unfurmountable; than even
 any thing before mentioned, if that is
 easily possible. All these expensive plans,
 these violent and forced efforts will only
 serve to hasten the independence of the
 provinces and our own undoing. It is not
 by the downright dint of arms and the de-
 cision of many bloody battles, but by a
 failure of our revenue; that the present
 contest will probably come to its conclu-
 sion. Twenty thousand men may make
 more waste and spoil in our provinces, than
 ten and thirty, than twenty; but no num-
 bers will be equal to the conquest of that
 great, united continent; which we are
 capable to provide and to pay. Our mi-
 nisters will want Hanoverian, Hessian
 and Russian finances, as well as the forces
 of those nations; for they seem already
 to be very nearly arrived to the extremity
 of those of Great-Britain. Let us for an
 instant consider the state of our revenue,
 if that the height, the horror and the
 confusion of these affairs will allow us lei-
 sure and patience. The public accounts
 run from one Lady-day to another. There
 were at Lady-day last due from the Sink-
 ing Fund about nine hundred thousand
 pounds, with which were discharged
 eight

eight hundred and eighty thousand in three per cent annuities. This sum should rather have been used to reduce the debt of the navy, which was increased six hundred and fifty thousand pounds or upwards within these three years and which amounted at Christmas last to above eighteen hundred thousand; but we were proud of appearing to pay off our principal. Let us however not criticise too strictly this circumstance. We are in no great danger of running again into the same error. This looks like the last instance of the kind. We have now in twelve years of peace paid off according to the utmost pretensions on that head and before these late expences, as much as we incurred in nine months of the last war. And here we may in all appearance make up and close that whole account. No man now born may probably ever see such another sum discharged of the British national debt: this seems to have been the seal on the subject. Thus however was concluded the account of the Sinking Fund ending at Lady-day 1775. We then took for the service of the current year upon the credit of that fund, upon its future growing produce supposed to arise
between

between Lady-day last and Lady-day 1776 two millions wanting one hundred thousand pounds. That with the taxes of the land and the malt were our ways and means for this year. But what were these things in the hands of ministers bent on campaigns and conquests? They spent last summer such prodigious sums for the public good; as made it in order to procure more money for the same purpose necessary to assemble the parliament earlier this winter, than was perhaps ever before known in our annals. That body accordingly met and passed without delay the land tax at four shillings in the pound. It is not the custom of administration to stay for the flow and the quarterly produce of this tax; but the Bank immediately advances at a certain interest money to the whole amount and takes it again, as it comes in by degrees. The wants, the debts and the demands were ready before. Thus is now in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, that high and heavy tax at its full extent of four shillings mortgaged, spent and gone, as far as Lady-day seventeen hundred and seventy-seven inclusive. Never was such an anticipation hitherto known
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or attempted ; but he is a poor minister, who does not improve on those that went before him. We have now probably approaching another most expensive year, likely far to out-go even the last in extravagance. There remains to answer all only the malt tax affording three quarters of a million and this poor hackneyed horse the Sinking Fund encumbered with nineteen hundred thousand pounds before spoken of and suffering by the defalcation to be expected from the actual condition of our affairs and of which no man yet knows the extent. Thus stands in gross the state of the revenue at this day, all explanatory accounts and papers being denied. Some services may and no doubt will be run behind ; means may possibly be found for anticipating yet further the Sinking Fund ; these things however will have an end : they cannot last long. Our next step must be to borrow ; but how to make that practicable may puzzle all the wisdom even of our present ministers. How great a confusion of our infinite funds now subsisting may be then expected ? What will be our figure, when we appear again before the face of all Europe asking in the old strain for more millions
upon

upon millions at interest? Our most enormous incumbrance already incurred without the least appearance of being ever paid off, our actual and most critical situation brought on wantonly and persisted in obstinately, the evident danger of the very fountain of our revenue drying up and failing will then all operate and have their full force and effect. The going to market again for money is the particular circumstance, which our administration had from the beginning especial cause to fear and to avoid. What shall I say, that our fate forces us or that we run with our eyes open upon the rock, where we cannot but be wrecked? There is no other stage beyond this of borrowing, but a stoppage in paying the interest of our public debt or in plain English a national bankruptcy. The whole frame of our government will in that day shake to its very foundation. I do not pretend now to go to the bottom of this subject: more has in another place been said upon it. (See Considerations, &c. page 96.) I protest however, that I do not write down these words upon my paper without being not only shocked for the sake of the public, but likewise utterly amazed at the madness of our ministers;

sters; fully satisfied and confident in my own mind, as I am; that they are according to their present course going headlong upon that point and in all appearance without the least question, scruple, consideration or hesitation in themselves; when they had at the beginning no temptation or provocation towards it; when they might perfectly well have stopped in their progress and even might at this moment possibly do so yet, if they truly and sincerely desired and endeavoured it: I say perhaps might yet do it; although the time and the opportunity permitted to us by Providence for that purpose appear to be now drawing to a very short period. However unconcerned some men may be about their country, have they no thought for themselves? Should our public funds burst like an immense bomb, will not the splinters strike those, who stand the nearest? What must in such a conjuncture be the case and the state of a first minister? It may perhaps be replied; I will then resign my place and will say, that the repeal of the stamp-act made the mischief or that it proceeded from some long-concerted scheme of the colonies; men may perhaps be even then found

found to confirm and on occasion to vote, as much ; so shall all be well, my private breast be appeased and my King and my country be contented. But is such language, the idle prattle of a parcel of children playing about kingdoms and empires or the serious discourse of persons, who have undertaken to conduct the state and on whose every motion, action, measure depends the happiness or the misery of many millions of mankind ? Can this great empire tumble without crushing in its ruin those whose post, whose province and whose duty it is to prop and to support it ; but who do on the contrary by their misconduct and their mismanagement bring it down ? Ruin will however not rest there. It has pleased the Almighty Governor of the world in his transcendent wisdom to connect the concerns of the wise and the weak, of the provident and the desperate. It behoves for his own sake and his own safety every man to concur according to his power in the preservation of his country : he will otherwise infallibly find himself involved in its fate. This cannot in our case be compassed but by the most prudent and the most discreet means :

we had not been, where we now are, if that wildness and madness would have wrought it. This Russian measure is on the contrary the meer, the hopeless impulse of resentment and of rage, of disappointment and of despair: it can possibly contribute to no end, but that of our own undoing.

There is however one assistance, of which it would be unreasonable to refuse the full force to those, who have provided and procured it. It is to be hoped, that the addresses will be preserved containing the sincere and the disinterested proffers of many lives and fortunes on this occasion. Men now so forward will no doubt in case of exigency be perfectly ready to perform their words: they will at least offer themselves for the first sacrifice; if any public misfortunes shall follow in consequence of their advice and their desires. Have they then well considered; whether it is wise to cast combustibles on a fire, which already threatens to consume the whole British empire? Counsels and professions respecting a point of this extreme moment can surely never be meant to gain only a little temporary court favour and then to
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be without further reflection forgotten or given to the wind? But however that may be; let their authors well beware, that these things do not bring in time to come most serious mischiefs on them and on theirs; that they never haunt them in their sleep and in their beds, unless their hearts shall be steeled and be hardened against every possible calamity of their country: Are they sure, that it will be long before they shall have reason to repent with tears of blood the measures, which they are now perhaps, but idly and wantonly recommending?

We have likewise been told; that military discipline is irresistible and that the Americans neither have nor can have on account of their equality among themselves any such thing. The matter of fact furnishes us here with the most proper reply. This point however having on the present occasion been much vaunted and spoken of and the writer being one, who professes himself as yet to learn any single circumstance wherein servitude is superior to freedom, he desires to offer some observations on the subject. I cannot persuade myself to believe, that true,

real, proper military discipline consists in blows and in stripes, in tyrannical laws and cruel executions, in the pride of the officer and the abjectness of the soldier or that it is not equally compatible with liberty, as with slavery or much more so. The art of war has in fact ever flourished most in free states. When the clear and the authentic accounts of historians begin on that subject, Greece excelled in it; whose liberty will not be disputed: that people being reduced and subdued by one another, it passed to Macedonia, a bordering or in a larger sense another Grecian nation, governed by Kings, but not despotically: their two celebrated leaders Philip and Alexander were captains general of Greece: the army was composed of a mixture of Macedonian and of Grecian troops, with which the latter performed his great exploits and subjected Ægypt, Asia and India. This state however soon sunk into absolute servitude. The military art then set up its standard in Rome, equally famous for its freedom and for its most extensive empire acquired by conquest. The Roman legions were enrolled in the city; their generals and their chief officers were chosen by the people: their armies were often

often formed and led in a short time against the enemy. The story of Scipio is well known, who prepared and who disciplined his troops in Sicily one summer, who carried them over into Africa and gained there great victories the same year and who overcame Hannibal and conquered Carthage the next. The Roman commanders had after the disbanding of their armies the first and the noblest boons ever conferred among men to ask of their soldiers in the capacity of citizens. When this mistress and pride of the world felt the fate of all human institutions and was enslaved in her turn, her martial fame followed her freedom: conquest and success in war were transferred to divers barbarous people far inferior to the Romans in other respects, but superior by their liberty. In these latter times and since the settlement of Europe by those northern nations the inhabitants of no particular spot appear to have had on this head any very remarkable and commanding pre-eminence above the rest of mankind. The English have however been much distinguished for their civil constitution, in which a part is preserved to the public and the community; that these are in almost

every other country deprived of. The influence of this freedom has accordingly been found and felt in our military affairs. We have had many bloody contests and battles with a neighbouring nation more practised and more experienced in arms than ourselves ; but whose pulse is supposed not to have beat so high for liberty nor whose form of government afforded them the same share of it. The effects corresponded to their cause. No people have within a certain number of centuries perhaps gained in the field greater or more signal victories than have our own on those occasions ; as witness with many others Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt ; victories in which Englishmen often glory and that undoubtedly proceeded from different grounds, than from numerous and mercenary armies then maintained and trained among us in time of peace. But should ever Britons in the chance and the change of things first lose their own liberty at home and then fight to deprive others of theirs abroad ; it may be depended upon, that we shall ourselves add one more base instance to the very many already experienced, of how much men and nations are by slavery demeaned and debased

based in military, as well as in every other virtue. May however heaven defend us from affording in our days an example to the world of so unhappy and so unfit a reverse ! These states of America vie with the freest in freedom : what reason is there then, that they may not likewise rival the most warlike in the art of war ; if they shall turn their views and their endeavours that way ? They are said to have already introduced means of offence in fighting and in battle hitherto unknown or unpractised among Europeans and such as we are ourselves at this time preparing to imitate. I don't hereby mean to signify, that such views and such endeavours are desirable or recommendable. It may be necessary for them to maintain and to continue in time to come the general muster of their country, as their best defence against both foreign foes and any domestic designs of ambitious men among themselves ; but it is for their own happiness and for that of the human species to be hoped ; that they will seek their greatness and their riches not by conquest and by mischief, but by peace and by commerce ; whenever they shall become a perfectly free, self-governed, independent people ;

people : which state seems to be sooner or later preparing for them ; later if we could continue contented with the prodigious benefits formerly and hitherto received from them ; but sooner and perhaps immediately, if nothing shall remove or restrain the present raging madness of our ministers.

But it has been the fashion to signify, that the Americans are cowards and poltroons and that therefore it matters not what numbers or what discipline they may have : I dare say, that their own instant answer to this will be ; let then better and braver men than ourselves win our country and wear it, if that is the case : they will no doubt readily fling down the gauntlet on this subject. They have however given to it another yet fuller and more effectual reply, which is by their behaviour itself. This reflection will hardly be again repeated ; but is not it very extraordinary ; that such a general, an injurious and in itself an incredible and an improbable charge should have been suggested respecting these numerous communities of men without one single fact being in confirmation of it produced
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or fastened upon them among all the various events and occurrences of the late war, throughout which our and their troops almost constantly acted together both on the continent and in the islands of the West-Indies; I say, without its being supported or confirmed by any one fact of that kind hitherto known or heard of? As to the successful siege of Louisbourg and their making themselves masters of Cape-Breton in the war before, an expedition undertaken, performed and until now at least ever remembered highly to their honour and which afforded us the only acquisition, that we had to part with at the ensuing peace; they could be in no very great danger of sinking or of suffering under that infamy of that affair; but they must on the contrary have surely been much flattered, when they found their enemies forced to produce their victories and their conquests to prove their poltroonery and their cowardice. I don't hereby mean to express, that all the things were really said in public, which may on this subject have sometimes been reported; but the particular reason of my now introducing this circumstance on the scene is, that it seems impossible to account for
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all the extreme strangeness of our conduct except on the ground, that some men did seriously suppose, believe and proceed upon a principle, that the American militia would never have the valour to face our forces in the field, however they might perhaps vapour and speak big at a distance ; as if our colours had carried with them an irresistible virtue and magic, like what has sometimes been attributed to the standard of Mahomet or to banners blessed by the Pope. How must any man capable of the least pity for the public be moved ; if the fate and the welfare of this great, but ill-governed country have actually been staked on any such childish and extravagant conception ? It is the part of persons ruling or leading others first to found their own proceedings in prudence and afterwards rather to respect, than to despise their enemies. If our ministers are however so much bent on making comparisons between Britain and America ; why don't they contrast the counsels of our cabinet and the success of them with those of the continental congress ; which seems to be more peculiarly their province and where they will certainly find very sufficient matter to employ and
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to exercise their reflections? The courage of others we cannot command; our own measures we may; let us then leave the provincial valour to itself and let us look to our own steps: the present conjuncture does but too much want all the wisdom of the wisest.

I come now to a charge against the Americans of a very different and a much more serious sort, of no less than rebellion made upon them not only in our ordinary prints and our daily discourse, but in the proclamations of the King and in other the highest authorities of our country. This is indeed a matter of great magnitude and importance: our governors have involved in it the fate of Great-Britain itself. These constantly deduce as a consequence from such a supposed state of things; that our own nation is for that reason under a necessity of running upon its ruin; that the dignity of government demands of us to pursue and to adopt measures leading directly to our destruction: that there can be no talk, no treaty with rebels; but it must be *bas les armes*, submission to mercy and to taxation or otherwise the fortune and the event of a civil war:

war: there appears sometimes such an eagerness in asserting these premises; as if it was only done on purpose to come to the conclusion: the parent-country of Old-England is absolutely doomed to be undone, there seems to be in the whole wheel of fate no single chance left in her favour; however it may happen with the provinces. This is much as prudent in our politicians with respect to the public; as it would be just in our judges with regard to a private person; if they should condemn any one to be executed at Tyburn, because he had the evil fortune to be robbed upon the high-road. This is possibly not all; who knows, whether no men about the person of our ever gracious Prince may by representations and by reasoning of the same sort endeavour to raise in the royal breast displeasure or indignation against a large part of lately at least some of the most loyal among his subjects to the extreme prejudice not only of his people; but perhaps of the concerns and the interests of his crown? One would imagine; that such alarming, such enormous consequences, should bring into suspicion the truth and the soundness of the principle itself, from which they do
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or are pretended to proceed ; that they should incline us well and carefully to question ; whether these present commotions of our provinces are at the bottom real rebellion or whether they may not possibly arise from some other reason or stand on some other ground. It is in so great a stake of our country undoubtedly not only most lawful, but most fitting to debate and to discuss a position, big with so much mischief to the public : whoever shall disprove it, will open a way to our peace and our preservation ; will wrest the means of malice out of the hands of ill-designing men and will remove the foundation of the folly and the infatuation of weak ones. There can be left no true liberty of speaking or of writing, all application by the press to the public for the common benefit must be foreclosed and forbidden ; if that this subject shall not find a perfect sanction and protection. The task demands and deserves a far better labourer, than the present writer : it has found and I trust, that it will again find many such : I shall however for one proceed without further scruple to the consideration of that question, hoping at least to point out the road for some abler person

person to pursue and being fully confident; that I am therein performing my poor, but my best and my most faithful services to my King and my country.

I say then in the first place; that it is no wonder, if one looking without the spectacles of learning cannot in the 25th of Edw. 3d. discern the actions of our countrymen beyond the Atlantic. The material words therein are "If a man do levy war against our Lord the King in his realm or be adherent to the King's enemies in his realm giving to them aid and comfort in the realm or elsewhere" whereby it appears; that the treasonable war must absolutely be levied in the realm. It is in a subject being at home or abroad treason to aid, comfort or adhere to the King's enemies in such a war; the enemies and the war itself must nevertheless be in the realm. Now the realm of America, the realm of England and America, the realms of England and America are nonsense, they are all jargon, no one of them is an expression of the English language; from whence it most certainly and most evidently follows; that neither America nor any war levied there is or
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can be included in those words. The King of England had at that time great possessions and claims abroad and this act was indisputably couched in such terms on purpose to confine it from affecting them. A law of Poynings passed by the parliament of Ireland extended to that country all the English statutes subsisting in the tenth year of H. 7: our laws of treason were the year after the union by 7 Anne c. 21. introduced into Scotland: but I want to know, how the words before-mentioned describe or comprehend America. This most penal of all laws and highest of all crimes cannot be stretched one jot beyond the strictest sense with respect either to purpose or to expression: where the one or the other of these fails, there ends likewise the extent of the statute. It is not very surprising, if America has hitherto been missed or overlooked on this subject; for rebellion never sounded from those shores, until that some men at home gave occasion to tumults there and then christened them with a hard name. The question is not, what law our ancestors would under Ed. 3 have made; if things had been then, as they are now; but whether they actually employed on that occasion terms expressive

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of America or whether we have since supplied the defect; if that they did not. Men are not to be hanged, drawn and quartered without or against law, because that their ancestors long lived totally free from all suspicion of deserving it. What reflections ought this fact to raise in us, that American treason is neither to be heard of in our history nor traced in our statutes? Is it then suddenly fallen from the clouds or has it flamed from the earth among them or is all this civil war only resistance arising from oppression, oppression which has before formed so many combinations and has already effected such a number of revolutions in the world? This is however not my immediate subject; but it may be said, that we will try these people by the 35th of H. 8, as if their deeds were done in England: to which I shall now only answer, that the fact or the crime must nevertheless keep its American complexion; that a riot there cannot by that means be turned into a rebellion in England. We may likewise be told, that this term of rebellion is in some late acts of parliament roundly attributed to the actions of our colonists. My reply to this is; that such expressions are at most to be esteemed only,

only, as the private and the personal sentiments of those suffering them to pass; but that the most positive, legislative, enacting words are necessary to constitute a new treason and to move the land marks fixed by so material and so fundamental a statute, as this in question. I wonder, how an indictment for rebellion without the word treason would be treated in Westminster-hall. But cries some bolder man, we will cut the Gordian knot, if we cannot untie it; we will pass a special act for that purpose. I will to this say only: that I shall then delay the binding up my curious collection of our late American acts; until that I can include with them an *ex post facto* statute for treason. I speak on this subject however no opinion of my own: I throw out these things for inquiry and for information. The writer is sensible, that he is according to the expression of a countryman of his own on a like occasion putting his sickle into the harvest of a particular profession. It is in these most unpromising times moreover a peculiar happiness, that our country has some persons towards whom to cast their eyes; who are eminent not only for their consummate knowledge of our laws and our

constitution ; but likewise for what can alone bestow a true lustre upon the most splendid talents, their integrity ; men who have evidently sacrificed to their opinion of the public good the first posts and profits and honours of ambition. I quit therefore this ground and freely descend further into the field.

I say then, that rebellion is indeed a big word, but that it is at the same time a most suspicious one : it is the common term, which tyrants ever affect to attribute to such, as defend and as maintain against them either their own rights or those of the rest of mankind. When our ancestors deposed with so much reason the second Edward and the second Richard would not their proceedings have borne the name of treason or of rebellion, if these Kings had been the strongest ? How fond are Englishmen of the very sound of Magna-Charta, but how often has force been employed to enact, to renew and to confirm it ? Might not such steps have passed for rebellion ; if the fortune of the field had on those occasions been against our forefathers ? Who knows, but that Runnymede might in such a case have now
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been celebrated, as a scene of disappointed rebellion? The defence of the constitution by our ancestors against Charles the First has it in our histories, in our statutes, in our prayers, never been called a rebellion? The Revolution would not it have been branded for a rebellion, the Revolution itself, whereon are founded the right and the throne of our most gracious King now reigning over us and the claims and the expectations of his family after him, if it had unfortunately failed and miscarried of success? Does any one question, whether Attornies and Sollicitors would then have been found to file informations or judges to give sentence in that stile? Would honest Jefferies have on so inviting an occasion been wanting to his office? I hope however and I trust, that I may for the honour of our ancestors add, that Parliaments could not in those days have been bought, packed or procured, who would likewise have voted, addressed and enacted in the same language? These are nevertheless the parts and the periods of our history, in which Englishmen especially pride themselves and to which we believe, that we owe the preservation of our most precious rights and the possession of every thing, that

we can properly call our own. I will go no further into this trite topic; it is almost a common place upon the liberties of the people; but resistance therefore or levying and waging war against the King is not always treason or rebellion; notwithstanding many plain, positive, general acts of parliament containing or expressing no particular exceptions in the case.

Our next question seems to be; what is then the circumstance, which distinguishes acts of resistance from one another; that sanctifies or justifies some while others of the same sort are so immoral and so criminal? I answer the cause: the cause is the original source, which communicates on such occasions the quality of good or of evil, of right or of wrong to the conduct flowing and proceeding from it. What name is among Englishmen held in higher honour, than that of Mr. John Hampden? He was nevertheless one of the first, who levied war, who took the field, who marched, who fought against the banners, the troops and the person of his Prince: He likewise led and induced many others to do
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the same. He merits to be reckoned among the rankest of rebels; unless that his cause sufficiently supported him in all these things; I say, if either that the King was intitled to have taxed him without his consent personal or representative or if that the right of preserving from such injustice and oppression himself and those after him did not duly and fully warrant his resistance. A claim of that kind is well known to have been the great question of their quarrel and that it was in Westminster-Hall decided on the side of the King against Mr. Hampden by a most solemn sentence of all the twelve judges there, being according to the written law of the land the persons proper and competent for that purpose. Truth and time have notwithstanding determined otherwise. The name and the remembrance of that excellent Englishman are by his country, as much cherished and respected, as those of some others may probably be condemned and reprobated; if that they shall not be well aware, how they walk in the ways or they revive the fatal principles of those, who counselled that unhappy Prince, with whom Mr. Hampden was under a necessity to contend. I

will not here multiply examples; our history is almost composed of them. We have however proceeded one step further; the cause is then the criterion of right and of wrong in those extraordinary cases; where a great part of the people believe themselves obliged to appeal from their own government to the supreme arbiter of the universe.

What is on this occasion then the cause of the Americans? Every one will to that answer; the great question of taxation, the claim of that country not to be taxed in England. On that point totally rests all this dispute; if that is false, the Americans are errant traitors and rebels; but if it be on the other hand fixed above in truth and in justice, it will well bear the whole weight depending upon it. A right includes the means necessary to maintain it. A right sanctifies the actions done in a just consequence of it. A right in any case and a duty of passive obedience and of non-resistance in the same are an absolute absurdity and contradiction. The actions of the Americans done in a due defence of a real right, will be perfectly and absolutely innocent; as much as to eat or
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to drink or to sleep. Why may they in their opinions not partake of the nature of those which have preserved and have, as it were, consecrated the memory of the first men of Greece and of Rome, of Tell of Switzerland, of the Nassaus of Holland, of Russel, of Sydney, of Pym, of Hampden before-mentioned and of other eminent patriots of our own nation? Most sacred shades and names ever to be revered, sure at least I am; that I do not mean to introduce you on the scene wantonly or unworthily! Some acts of parliament lately passed concerning that western continent will no doubt be the admiration of posterity; but I do not know, that we have as yet directly and immediately forbid to its natives the love of their country and should we in ourselves shew them a domestic pattern of the neglect of that duty; our success on the present occasion or our prospect in time to come is perhaps not such, as may tempt them to copy and to pursue the example. I say then; that we had need to demonstrate at least, that the Americans act unjustly; before we pretend to accuse them of acting rebelliously: the latter charge without the former would be a notable and a
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curious paradox in law, in politics and in morality. They advance particularly three defences; the necessary and the inherent rights of humanity, the essential constitution of England and their provincial grants and charters: every one of these must be fully disproved and removed out of the way before that the brand of rebellion can be fixed upon the foreheads of that people. I do not mean at this moment to launch again into that large ocean. I speak now no opinion: my American countrymen have on these subjects found friends and advocates the latchet of whose shoes this writer is not worthy to unloose; although he may have endeavoured not to be wanting on the occasion with his mite. I shall leave this warfare of words, where it is between the mercenary troops on the one side and the militia on the other. I readily rest it on that issue only repeating once more with respect to it; that there is no crime of rebellion in America, if there is no right of taxation in Great-Britain.

It may perhaps be observed; that Mr. Hampden was supported by two parts of
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the parliament and that he only denied his ship-money to the single command of the King : whereas our Americans are in arms against the statutes and the authority of the whole legislature. They pretend likewise however to be in a situation and to stand on a ground with respect to that point very different from the inhabitants of Great-Britain. I don't at present meddle in that matter : but the parliament here referred to (and of which Mr. Hampden was a member) was summoned by force and by means of a Scotch army, which probably marched into the kingdom for that purpose. It subsisted under under an extraordinary and an extorted power of not being dissolved but by itself. Our ancient Barons acted on great exigencies sometimes in their collective, sometimes in their legislative capacity and were in this latter case sometimes called together with the good will of the King and sometimes by compulsion upon him. What regard however does at the time any man pay to the express words of many acts of parliament, who once erects in England his standard against the crown ? Did the House of Lords or the House of Commons address the Prince of Orange to

to come over from Holland? I hardly know, whether it is lawful for me to say, that the revolution was brought about in the face of the highest written laws of the land; but the statutes of treason, the sceptre of the King and the custom of succession all plied and bent in that day, like twigs of *ozier*. We shall be told, that our ancestors were on such high occasions warranted by reason and by self-preservation. Who is more forward to acknowledge that than the writer? But what is then become of those principles? Did they in the year eighty-eight abandon England never to be known there again; when a few men were once satisfied with their having got at the head of the government? Have they under the present planet lost their influence and have power and force taken their place? But it may be said; that our all was in those ancient times attacked and must have been surrendered by submission. Will not the Americans in answer to this reply the present claim of taxation to be a net; which evidently catches and covers the whole property of their continent? We have by the means of such maxims and such motives of action in those preceding us inherited and
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do enjoy the highest of human advantages, our liberties and our properties; we mean then beyond doubt not to deny or to disavow them in any due case of another people our kinsmen, our brethren, the common offspring of the same forefathers and progenitors. I make here however no precise comparisons: my conclusion is general; that therefore the Americans and all other communities of men are according to the practice of our ancestors, the right of the revolution and the principles of the people of England warranted in a just self-defence and a righteous cause to wage war, if I may so express myself, with the whole or with any part of the world.

I had with regard to the future fact likewise rather, that any other would answer than the writer; I mean, how long it would probably be, before that the real practice of taking the little all of this poor and this beginning people might accompany the pretension supported by the power. The property of America does wonders in the possession and the disposition of its owners, wonders that may make some men amazed, if they shall continue hardened; but would the whole
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of it be many breakfasts for a British minister with two or three ways-and-means men at his table? What hands have on the head of taxation been the heaviest of the whole world? *Dic quibus in terris*—What state or kingdom is now indebted and mortgaged the highest of any that ever was upon the earth? If we have wantonly squandered the fair lot left us by our own fore-fathers or have basely and meanly consented to its being done, is that a just reason for us to bereave other more prudent persons of the inheritance of their ancestors or the acquisitions of their industry? Mankind contend against tyranny, in order to have something of their own and some controul over it; but where is the difference to any people by whom they are deprived of their all; if that the evil itself is to be done them?

But what are we, if the Americans are not rebels? Is it imagined; that their dictionaries do not contain on that head, as many hard words, as our own? The rectitude of our actions refers to the same claim of taxation, with theirs; but on the opposite side. Let us build as high, as Babel; all we raise must rest on our first

first foundation : the edifice above will certainly be strong or ruinous ; as the ground below is sound or rotten. We may cover the sea with our ships and the land with our troops ; we may add ingratitude, injustice, rapine, murder and other crimes to one another, as the giants of old are said to have heaped mountain upon mountain against heaven ; but we cannot by that means turn right into wrong, tyranny into protection or self-defence into rebellion. Cruelty has often disfigured a fair beginning and made more black many a foul one ; but we may, as well hope to wash with water an Æthiopian white, as to change by power the complexion of a bad cause. When we accuse the Americans of offending against our national statutes ; let us remember ourselves, that there is a law more unalterable than that of the Medes and the Persians and higher and stronger than acts of the British Parliament.

But does not this subject open to us observations of another sort ; although whether such as will be taken in an evil or a favourable light for the Americans, I am at a loss to say ? These have suddenly
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and totally dissolved for the present at least our government throughout thirteen colonies and over a vast tract of country; they have hitherto wanted time or perhaps on our account inclination to settle and to establish another regular one in the room of it: they are nevertheless so far from falling into confusion and into distraction among themselves thereupon; that they have in the same very short time raised and formed a strong defence, have maintained an open and a declared war with a most potent nation directed by ministers earnestly bent upon their mischief, have successfully and effectually made head against our attacks, against an army composed of the flower of our troops, commanded by chosen generals, supported by the fleet and backed with all the power and the means of Great-Britain. They rather threaten to gain of ours, than seem likely to lose of their own. The whole contest has hitherto not cost them a thousand men. These circumstances and many more considered, may not any one venture to affirm; that it is an event unequalled by any of the same nature in the annals of mankind, the victorious contention of Holland with Spain not excepted? It is difficult

difficult to determine, whether the vigour or the discretion of their counsels and their actions has been most distinguishable. The whole is an admirable, but a natural effect of freedom united with a knowledge and an experience of government. Some men seem so much out of humour with the necessary consequences of their own conduct; that they will perhaps hardly permit me to say that it does a credit and an honour to the actual state of humanity. Let us however hope, that it is a small glimpse or promise of a much more improved and more advantageous condition, than the present; to which the general community of mankind is daily and by degrees advancing. Barbarous tribes of Savages, such as Indians or as Corsicans, are like a loose body of sand, of which no firm building can be framed. A people of slaves, the populace and the janissaries of Constantinople or any other can on their occasions act only by sudden impulses, starts and sallies; without a plan, without prudence and without foresight. A happy combination of order with liberty makes the case of our North-Americans equally to differ from each of these other and supplies the defect of

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them both. They have all over their country many and various representative institutions; one for their whole union, the rest for particular provinces, counties, cities or other districts; some of them ancient, some new and introduced on account of this critical and difficult conjuncture. These bodies are truly and really without falshood or fiction chosen and nominated either immediately or ultimately by the persons, whom they pretend to represent and for whom they act: their duration is short and their intire dependence upon their constituents: their countrymen cast their eyes towards them, they can confide in them and they pay them accordingly a due and a deserved respect and submission. These can therefore restrain, encourage, regulate and conduct their actions on great or on necessary occasions. They are most wise and most excellent establishments, however some men proud of the little paltry power or distinction thrown upon them by a prince or a minister may pretend to despise and to traduce them: they can only obtain among a free people, who will ever find the benefit of them; as will their enemies the disadvantage: they proceed indeed from

from the multitude and not from a single master, they bring with them no profit, but in the service of the public ; but they are on account of these circumstances perhaps neither the less useful or the less respectable. Would to God, that no contrast or contrary example could be produced of any men nearer home and advanced from a different quarter than from the people, who have by their inconsiderate conduct first involved their country in the guilt and the blame and who are by the same means now bringing on its head the mischiefs and the miseries of the present most unhappy troubles. These bodies might have been as beneficial to Great-Britain, as to America ; if that a due use had been made of them. They removed from us the necessity of having to do with confused and enraged multitudes ; we might by their means have treated with wise and with considerate men : we needed no longer to have been in the hands of our own creatures and our own governors, some of whom have by their false, their flattering, their self-interested advices and advice had but too much share in these mischiefs ; we should directly have dealt

with those, who well know and who would truly speak the opinions and the inclinations of their constituents: they are the very provision, which we should have wished for as the most proper instruments to bring back to their obedience these our ancient colonies and dependencies. I do not however mean by bribery or by base methods: there is not one of these men, but would be most unworthy of his situation and of the trust reposed in him, every drop of blood in whose veins would not revolt at the least hint or appearance of any such proposition nor would their constituents be in that manner imposed upon; but I mean by fair, fit, honest, honourable terms, by conditions equally and mutually advantageous both to the colonies and to the mother-country and which surely might without difficulty have been found, at least far better and more for Great-Britain especially, than the present unnatural and, it is to be feared, on our part fatal civil war. Let us then not affect to condemn those, whom no man in his senses can but honour: let us not arrogantly reject every thing, which comes from their quarter: they are an appointment of importance; if we will not profit by

by them for our good, we shall certainly feel the force of them by our evil. A late application from the chief Congress of that continent and its reception here do but too well warrant the urging and the pressing of this point: such another may never come from thence; but if neither reason nor experience nor even opportunity provided and proposed to our hands will produce with us any effect; what fate can a people expect, who only turn against themselves the means, which Providence is pleased to offer them for their safety?

The writer however does not mean on all occasions of this unfortunate division to warrant each action of our American countrymen under every possible persecution or provocation. I am unacquainted with their misconduct hitherto: let us drive or lead them into none such by our own behaviour and example. We are but at the beginning of troubles; the worst parts of this story are probably behind. The passions, the vices, the frailties of private persons will not fail to find a place amidst such ungovernable broils and contests. What man or assembly of men can direct and confine within

compass all the confusion, the violence, the evils and the waste of a civil war? Who knows, whither the wind and the weather will blow the flame, when a whole region is on fire? What must in that case the first incendiaries not have to answer for, be they who they will; but how can any human repentance ever be sufficient atonement in those, who having undertaken the care of a great country and of its safety and its welfare sling nevertheless with their own rash or impious hands the accursed brands, which light up in it such a general and such a fatal conflagration? Men of that turn certainly conceive in their minds no image of the many calamities occasioned by them: they would otherwise never sleep in peace, who now appear perhaps little disturbed, but by their own dissipations or their own ambition. What must be the situation of any one, who has it every moment to reflect; that he was born for the misfortunes of mankind and the ruin of his country? Let us however not make a very bad matter exceedingly worse by harshness, by cruelty, by any proceedings, which may require or may provoke and which will in such a case unquestionably be

be repaid with reprisals. It will be heaping up of harm, that must infallibly fall heavily on ourselves. Hard words and big pretensions at home will be but a poor alleviation for the sufferings of those unfortunate persons, who shall in their turns be the victims of such a behaviour on our parts. I have before said something on this subject: I will dwell no longer on it now. The weight however of all the evils of this horrible civil war will lie upon the authors of the whole and every individual will besides be responsible for his own immediate misdeeds: single and independent actions must be judged of by themselves; but the general cause will ever retain its original colour and complexion.

We have however in a pamphlet intitled *Taxation no Tyranny* been told *that government cannot be limited; that there must be in all states an unlimited government or one bounded only by physical necessity; that this may do wrong, but that it must nevertheless not be resisted; for that can be done only by rebellion.** This is the position.

* *Taxation no Tyranny*, p. 24. In sovereignty there are no gradations. There may be limited royalty, there may

position. I would advise such writers well to beware how they renew principles, which formerly produced among us so much mischief; how they rashly unsheath again the sword dyed with the blood of Charles the First and which has twice driven into banishment his unfortunate family. The doctrine of despotism did these things and more. We shall perhaps be told, that this doctrine was then applied to the Prince, but that now it is so to the Parliament. Alas! *a thin partition*---I will at this instant not inquire, whether there is in that distinction always as much real difference, as the first sound of the words may sometimes seem to imply or to import; I will not ask

may be limited consulship; *but there can be no limited government.* There must in every society be some power or other, from which there is no appeal, which admits no restrictions, which pervades the whole mass of the community, regulates and adjusts all subordination; enacts laws and repeals them, erects or annuls judicatures, extends or contracts privileges, exempt itself from question or controul *and bounded only by physical necessity.*

By this power wherever it subsists all legislation and jurisdiction is animated and maintained. From this all legal rights are emanations, which, whether equitably or not may be legally recalled; it is not infallible, *for it may do wrong; but it is irresistible, for it can be resisted only by rebellion,* by an act which makes it questionable, what shall be from thence forward the supreme power.

ask again, whether there were in the way no Acts of Parliament, when the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, marched to London and was made King in his own right; but the propositions and the expressions before referred to evidently signify either a right in the government to do wrong or a duty of passive obedience and of non-resistance in the subject, when there is no right at all in the government; the one or the other of which appears to be no better than downright nonsense, contradiction and absurdity and but a most weak and most despicable foundation for the great work of overturning the liberties and the properties not of one single people only, but of all mankind.

When this claim of absolute power was formerly trumpeted under those princes, whom it was to have made magnificently great, but who miserably suffered by its means; the parasites, the flatterers, the hunters after preferment of those days first founded it on divine right; but they had very evil fortune. A second sort then arose, who saw this and who besides never loved to walk in the same way with the others, even when they sought the same end: these fixed it in the strength
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of the Leviathan; which means in plain English and when examined to the bottom neither more or less than the law of the strongest or the longest sword. Our present advocates of the same cause are not pleased to be explicit on this subject. They advance the like exorbitant and extravagant claim, but do not so clearly explain on what ground: It seems now to over-shadow the earth with its body, but to hide its head in the clouds. Divine right however is gone much out of fashion: some other people formerly very fond of it are now shifting their own demands upon a ground, which they like better. The pain of rebellion is likewise produced for the proof and the sanction of this power. It is undoubtedly of the establishment of the Leviathan; although there may be some caution with respect to speaking out. I say then to this, that the longest sword is undoubtedly a very respectable authority and what no prudent person would advise another hastily and rashly to dispute, wherever it happens to be for the time; but that it is apt to change hands. The Behemoth may come and may overpower the Leviathan. The sword of Oliver proved longer or stronger

ger than that of Charles : he became then the governing beast. What a parliament is to-day, assemblies or committees or congresses may be to-morrow. That criterion determines now nothing between us and the Americans: it refers all, whether we are tyrants or they are rebels to be decided, when that the swords shall fairly and fully have been measured. What are the pains and the penalties of rebellion to those, who get the better? Will this writer or any other go and hang that bell on the neck of Washington or of Putnam; if they and their continent shall be conquerors? This is crying havoc and letting slip the dogs of war on all occasions. Don't resist unless you are the strongest; lest you should be short by the head: if you can make yourself master, all is well; my objection is nothing, and your enemy must then look to his. This is the doctrine, which is to keep peace between states and their subjects: it preaches absolute power on the one hand, rebellion on the other and nothing between. It would no doubt suit wonderfully well with patrons bent on ruling despotically and ready rather to risque their due authority, than not to attain

tain to that end. The arguments of all from the paradoxical dean to the itinerant preacher bottom on the same principle, which do not stand on the ground of consent: even the words of legislative authority and supremacy so extremely respectable in their right and their proper sense seem in the discourse of some individuals to mean no more, than the strength of the Leviathan.

Let us however totally quit this narrow ground and let us endeavour to consider in some general, extensive, and decisive manner this most important and to all mankind most interesting question—Whether that there is and there must or there can be in every state a despotic, absolute, arbitrary governing body of men without check, without controul and whom it is unlawful to resist in any case whatsoever without exception. I say then thereupon; that all things will probably have a period, which have had a beginning; so must however most certainly every human institution. States have their birth, become mature and then decay; none is nor can be so well contrived or well constituted, but that it will through its internal

ternal weakness and by corruption or by some other means become in time the prey of absolute and of arbitrary power. This has long been the case of the many free governments of Greece and of the mighty and the eminent republic of Rome; it is the constant course of the whole world: every ancient nation has taken and every other must and will take its course in the same manner: the present public appearances of Europe are not such as to deny credit to that point. Let us then consider upon this the consequences of the doctrine in question. Here are all mankind at once condemned to a perpetual bondage: there remains no right of resistance, no remedy, no redress, no means of recovery for them, at least unless that their tyrants should of themselves be pleased to lay down their arms and their power and to beg of their subjects to accept again of their liberties and their properties. I need not stay to inquire, whether such is the nature of tyranny or the purpose of the proposition before us. A total, general despotism must by degrees obtain and in the end reign every where: it will, as it were, cover and envelope the whole globe of our earth.

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What a comfortable condition of humanity is thus carved out for us! Is this then the work of that most benevolent Power, whose every smallest production bespeaks a goodness infinitely beyond the wit of the wisest man to trace or to understand; can they be divines, scholars and philosophers, who preach and who teach these doctrines and what are the rewards, for which men of letters so lower themselves as to maintain the rectitude of ruining their country, the right of irresistible tyranny and the unavoidable and the irrecoverable slavery of the whole human species? There was formerly a mythology of two eternal, independent beings, the one good and the other evil; who governed the universe, but who were ever at variance with one another. If that this could be the case and that the bad power was contrary to the Persian opinion the strongest and the uppermost such a state of things might naturally and necessarily obtain on the habitation of men: but any one may be bold to say, that this oppressive and this detestable system can on no other terms nor other supposition take place and propositions of the sort in question would have better become the priests
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and the ministers of such a malevolent divinity; than they do the servants or the dependants of that all-preserving principle, which has framed the earth, the air and the seas and which is pleased to grant unto man life, liberty and property for the purpose of using and of enjoying them.

So much for the doctrine of despotism. It is however to be hoped, that we are not yet so bowed and so broken to the yoke, as to trample with indifference upon our best rights and privileges; we are surely not going to become a bye-word among nations and the shame of our own ancestors; we cannot certainly be unwilling to hear the first interests of ourselves and of all mankind endeavoured to be defended against such extravagant and such exorbitant claims over us. The American cause requires on this head, no more than is said already and so I would be understood; the present writer however does not scruple, but is proud to set his hand to the principles of liberty, whenever and wherever they shall lie before him. Let me therefore be on this subject suffered to point towards the outlines of a system of civil government, at least very different from

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from that of slavery. Good and evil; pleasure and pain, happiness and misery are then the interesting objects of all beings endowed with a sensation of them: they are, as it were, the polar stars towards which the axle of every world must perpetually point: they are the motives of all human actions and endeavours: every thing else refers finally and perhaps solely to them: the one of them of necessity is our constant desire and the other our unalterable aversion. Good or happiness seems indeed to be the great end, and as it were, the foundation of the universe itself, so far as our weak faculties enable us to judge upon such a transcendent subject: mankind is not only intitled, but bound to pursue it. Such is the general and the unalterable nature allotted to us by the transcendent principle on which we depend and from which we have received our being. The same high author has under these sanctions of good and of evil given us several laws, as duty to our parents, protection of our children, truth, justice and others: that is, he has either instantly or by necessary chains of causes and of effects duly and respectively annexed to the observance or the violation of

of such rules the reward of pleasure or the penalty of pain. These his laws all tend to the same purpose of the general happiness: they are prior and superior to any human appointment: men and nations may neglect or may offend against, they cannot however repeal, annul or abrogate them; these chains will continue constant and unbroken notwithstanding our strongest efforts, our fullest resolves, all our acts and our statutes, our customs and our practices to the contrary: a higher power than ours holds his hand to this point. These things sometimes proceed in a plain and an immediate, but often likewise in a complicated, an unobservable or to us an unaccountable manner; which is no wonder; since that they are the combined effects of infinite power, wisdom and goodness. This is noble matter, but into which I do not now mean to enter nicely and minutely. I am not pretending to explain a compleat system of morality or of policy; it will be sufficient for my subject to observe the foundations, on which these stand. The moral however much resembles the material world: outward force is the means, which commands us in the latter: we cannot in

it alter the great laws of nature: numberless operations therein are notwithstanding subjected to our will and our power; but ever within the bounds prescribed to us. I say, that it is the same in moral things: very many circumstances of them are within the compass and the competence of man; but so as we observe our limits. We are in the one case confined by an external strength, which fate does not suffer us to overcome: we are in the other restrained by the considerations of our own good and our own evil where a greater freedom is left to us of action; we have nevertheless in both cases laws and bounds from above. Civil government is among the things within our province and a most important one: it is by experience found to contribute in a great degree towards the happiness of our species: it is an union and a compact for that end and for that only; for procuring the good and the advantage and for preventing the evil and the calamities of those, who compose it: a prodigious object when millions of mankind are therein concerned: this is the principle from which it proceeds: these are the views from which it never can consti-

constitutionally swerve. To agree and to associate together for our mischief and our misery, does not even come within our conception; it would be something more than null and void, it would be utterly absurd if that we did. I say nothing how far every man has in himself or can in consequence give to others a command over his life; but what contracts would or could bind any one to continue in existence and at the same time not to desire or to endeavour after his own felicity? There are various and different forms of civil government: its chief means is the institution of laws and of magistrates and its main ends are personal safety and private property: the right of self-defence is in necessary cases preserved under it to individuals: rights belonging to the body and not parted with remain there; rights entrusted by it, but being at an end return again thither. This circumstance of magistracy is not inherent in the person like a quality received from nature of youth or health, of strength or beauty; but it is a trust, an office, a jurisdiction. When magistrates more or fewer in number and higher or lower in rank, a king, a constable, an assembly, a senate, a legislature

exceed this their public capacity, they become and are in that respect no more than private persons : they may then be withstood and be resisted, as such ; if they offer violence and injustice. Should a king in a transport of passion endeavour to slay one of his subjects ; who had no means of defence, but by the destruction of the aggressor ; it would for such a subject be as lawful to put an end to the life of his king, as to that of any other man in their common nation on the like occasion. Where the right of command in the magistrate ends, there begins in the case of wrong the right of resistance in the subject. On this proposition depend all personal safety and all private property, wherever civil society has been introduced : there will be left neither the one or the other of them throughout the whole world ; they are now not to be found among men in a state of nature and they will besides be totally banished from every empire, kingdom and commonwealth upon earth, if that this point be but determined in the negative. Should then any government pervert the very purpose of its institution ; should it instead of the benefit and the prosperity seek the bane and the destruction

tion of the people confided to its care; to make a question; whether these have themselves in that case a right to pursue and to provide for their happiness by such means, as they conceive the most conducive thereto, be it by resistance or by obedience; seems much what it would be to debate, whether it is lawful for the sparks to fly upwards or for stones to fall to the ground or for the planets to gravitate towards the center of their system: they must all of them equally be impelled and be drawn by their respective nature to their proper end. It is likewise not permitted for magistrates to abrogate the eternal and the unalterable laws of Providence. It is so very far from being true; that there is or there can be upon the earth a body of men despotic, absolute and *bound only by physical necessity*, than which the English language hardly furnishes a more emphatical expression; that should a whole nation command with an unanimous voice one of its individuals to slay his own son or to lift up his hand against his father: I will be bold to say, that such a person would have a right rather to resist than to perform it; if he could on the face of the earth find help

or protection or if he was of himself able to master those, who should endeavour to enforce the impious command. The first laws must ever be those of the incomprehensible power, on which the whole world depends.

It may perhaps be hereupon asked; why are not then almost all states in continual convulsions and distractions, since men armed and tempted with power are so apt to trespass beyond their due bounds. I say from the same simple principle of this tendency and this attachment to happiness perpetually subsisting in all beings. A general love and desire of peace, an aversion to disturbance and to confusion, the common interest of every one in order and in union remain and continue notwithstanding the imprudence or the ambition of those at the helm. The acquiescence, the forbearance, the patience of the people and the public take place, where the strict right of their rulers is at its extent. How often do these preserve and uphold governments, after that they have themselves by their ill conduct weakened or perhaps destroyed their first and their original foundations? This is the
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great and the effectual cause which maintains the internal tranquillity of nations and, if I may say so, the domestic quiet of the world. How happy would it be for mankind if the outward peace of states with each other was half as well preserved, which commonly depends not upon the people, but upon their governments? It must be considered, that a right to resist is almost always accompanied by another circumstance, which is, if I may so express myself, a like and an equal right not to resist. A traveller has a right to resist a robber on the road, but his pistols are in his holsters or he can spare his money and he desires to sleep in a whole skin; he is not according to the vulgar expression said to be common on such occasions, obliged to have his brains blown about his ears, only because he has the benefit of self-defence, if he pleases. It is common to have a right to a small sum of money, but which will cost ten times its value to demand in a court of law. A right does not deprive people of their senses. A private person in England would soon be shot upon the highway or be ruined in Westminster-hall or would meet with some other mischance and be in the mean time

excluded from all honest company, as troublesome and quarrelsome; who should pursue and prosecute one half of the rights, which fortune to make no mention of nature confers upon him. It is not to be imagined, that every man casts about the first moment of rising out of his bed in a morning only how to disturb the state or to destroy himself. An Englishman has a shorter method than to trouble others, when he is in so distempered a mood or however he would soon be brought to a better mind in a country, where content and good government give a vigour to the laws. The Earl of Essex is said in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to have run through the streets of London calling and crying to arms: the citizens kept about their business in peace: he slept that evening in the Tower and from thence stepped soon afterwards to the scaffold. It is one thing rashly and wantonly to unsettle the quiet of a state and another very different to move with the whole; when grievances are insupportable, when events are ripe and when the hand of Providence prepares a revolution as the last resource of an oppressed and a suffering people. Governments have strong and wide and deep roots
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nor are to be moved or shaken but by violent hurricanes, by high and public and probably not ill-grounded discontents. The head and the height even of the last rebellion in Great-Britain give no conviction to the contrary. These were totally owing to the mismanagement of the administration at the time; as might from authentic materials be easily demonstrated and as is well known to those, who are acquainted with the conduct of the regency and the cabinet on that occasion. How small a matter was the former rising for the same cause in the year fifteen, which had nevertheless more hidden foundation and was at the bottom more abetted than the other? Is it believed, that subjects are more apt to become rebels, than their rulers are to turn tyrants; although the latter circumstance often gives occasion to a charge of the former? How many free states have by gentle degrees sunk into slavery for one righteous rule, that was ever overturned by violence? The disturbance of the public peace is to a whole people always a most serious and most important object. It would perhaps be on a fair examination found, that men of moderate means love and possibly that they

they enjoy too their domestic comfort and felicity, at least as much as the rich and the great. What alone seems to cause the true difficulty in this consideration is, that some persons are so elevated with their privileges and their prerogatives, as ever to look down with contempt upon the community: they can brook no condescension towards that quarter: they cannot persuade themselves to own; that they hold or they enjoy by their means such precious boons, as riches, honours and power: they desire enough to accept and to possess those benefits, but it is upon the proudest and the most presumptuous terms: give me leave to say, that they are hardly willing to acknowledge the superiority of Providence itself on this subject: I mean, that they deny the validity of his laws and, if they sometimes introduce his authority, it seems to be only for the purpose of putting themselves in his place. It is however to be feared, that there are hanging over our heads events; which may before long bring to another sense of themselves such men, as must for that end learn the hard lesson of misfortunes and of calamities.

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It is perhaps no very uncommon opinion; that the many and the multitude are constantly endeavouring to run wrong and that their rulers and their governors are ever hard at work to set or to keep them to rights; but this is a fancy, which has not the least foundation except in the prejudices of the persons entertaining it and directly the contrary of which will upon a fair enquiry into the fact be certainly found the case. I will appeal to any one, whose senses are not absolutely bought and sold; whether it is the people and the public or whether it is the administration and (if a handful of inconsiderate men are to be dignified with that name) the government, who have in the present case and in our own country sought confusion and ensued it? This reflection will likewise hold true upon a larger scale. States almost always flourish according to their freedom and according to the greater or the lesser proportion of the community, which partakes in the government of them; but princes without restraint and acting only by their ministers seldom or never fail to turn into deserts their dominions. Let any one cast his eyes or his thoughts over France, over Spain, over
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Italy, over Germany without passing from Europe into Turkey and into Persia, all of them countries most bountifully blessed by the beneficent hand of nature, and having so done let him then say, whether it is rebellion or it is despotism, which lays waste the world. Our own nation was formerly famous for the check and the controul which it kept upon its governors and so has it likewise been for its figure abroad and its felicity at home: our domestic history however consists since the Revolution of a constant complaisance in our parliaments for our princes and their ministers, I mean in our parliaments, that are past; but is the moment very far remote, when we shall sensibly and perhaps fatally experience, whether the abjectness and the obsequiousness of this latter period have more contributed to the prosperity or even to the quiet and the security of the public, than the former firmness, steadiness and let me add, at times warrantable and necessary resistance of our ancestors? We are sure, that the one rendered us an instance of a rich, a powerful, and upon the whole likewise a well-governed nation; God forbid, that the other should first fling us into confusion

fion and then sink us into nothing ! But it may be said ; are there then no instances of popular disorders and disturbances ? I answer ; what were the tumults of Tyler, of Cade or of Maffanello more than fires of straw kindled and extinguished in an instant ? Such things are not the wounds of a needle, if I may say so, in the welfare or the history of a nation. It was the defence of the constitution, which drove our ancestors into arms against Charles the first nor so far did they suffer by it. The conduct of Cromwell was by the means of a veteran army devoted to its leader a short turn upon both prince and people, both royalists and republicans ; but the bent and the inclinations of the whole righted again that affair in a few years. It was from the temper of the community at the time, that General Monk took his measures. This ambition however and this apostacy of Cromwell so disgraced the republican cause and so sunk the republican spirit, that they have since never held up their heads in England. Were not the persons now presiding over us so far above the poor counsels of this writer, my humble advice to them would be ; that they should beware of reviving them.

them. I do not at all mean, that there is in the nation now any tendency that way: the present complexion of the public appears to be of a very different cast. It must be totally the management of our ministers; if republicanism does in our days ever recover and raise again its crest among us. Who knows however what may possibly and by industry be brought to pass? Some men have a most successful hand at mischief, when they set about it. They have certainly given rise to thirteen republics elsewhere; who appear a short time since to have little thought of any such thing; but it is to be hoped, that the experience already proved will cause them to stop their headlong career, before that they produce any such desperate effects nearer home. There is on the subject of our comparison in the balance of the people however many millions of men, who have with respect to political concerns no interest but in the good of the public; there are the lights, the experience and the understanding of a whole nation: whereas on the other side and in the ministerial scale are often only the blindness, the obstinacy and the phrenzy of a few, who are but too apt to make the whole

whole a prey to their private passions and advantage. Where is the wonder then that both the past history and the present condition of mankind should unite to instruct us, that it is not the many and the multitude; but that it is courts and cabinets which are the more given to go wrong and which commonly want the curb and the restraint of the others to keep them right.

Some one may perhaps on the other hand here demand; what force and effect then can this right of the collective body have, if it is of so gentle and so inactive a nature, as is here represented? I answer; that it is like a sword, which may in case of necessity be drawn out of its scabbard. It is a power dormant and quiet in all tolerable times; but which provoked by oppression beyond bounds has in the history of mankind tumbled many a tyrant from his throne. It keeps even on common occasions lawless and despotical men in some check and some awe. How little liberty is now to be any where found; but what would be the condition of nations; if that this right and the sense and the apprehension of it were totally removed from among mankind?

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It is a circumstance, which has sometimes been much agitated on this subject; who is then to judge when and whether these magistrates, these rulers are within or without their limits, are doing right or wrong? I trust, this point to have been already explained: the question however answers itself. Grant to any man a grain of power and let him in the last instance but decide upon the extent of its jurisdiction and the rectitude of its execution and you give him the whole world. He will be far more powerful than the famous mathematician and mechanic of old; for he will not move, but he will possess the earth: such is the boundless ambition of man. The very point formerly proposed by King Charles the first to the twelve judges was; whether he might not lawfully levy ship-money in case of necessity and whether he was not judge of that necessity. He wanted nothing more to put the whole property of his people in his power. It is therefore an utter absurdity to suppose, that the persons confided in are to determine this matter in their own case and for themselves; but it must necessarily be the body of their constituents, from whom the trust and the office are derived:

derived : but how will a whole nation or such a number of people act and execute their judgment and their opinion ? This is going back again : I shall only repeat, by supporting and by preserving the peace of the subsisting state ; except in cases of the very last and utmost extremity ; when men will no doubt again do, as many others and Englishmen in particular have so often done before. However we may have foregone the principles, we certainly have not forgotten the history of our ancestors. Thus therefore does upon the whole the great concern of human happiness first form civil government and then restrain the magistrate on the one hand and the multitude on the other : a most excellent institution, when that incomparable principle is suffered to continue its operation and its influence ; but if we once quit that object as the end and consent as the means, we must necessarily run into a wilderness ; where we cannot fail of falling a prey either to a qualified plunderer of a prince or to some bold and lawless leader of banditti, who carves out his fortune for himself with his sword.

Let us see then, whether these opinions are not consonant to the history and
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the constitution of our own country, as well as applicable to the events of the present times. Our ancestors formerly assembled and resolved upon their laws and their measures in their collective capacity : their princes and their leaders were as evidently commissioned in the execution of them, as one private person is by another : the power then reverted to the body and on occasion issued from it again. This was the first origin of our form of government ; where we are to seek, where we shall find and by which we shall comprehend its real, original nature and essence. Whatever changes or variations have through necessity and the mutability of things since been made or happened in its outward form and circumstances, these have all referred and related to its primitive inherent principle : this was on such occasions never understood to have been overturned or over-ruled. Representation first took place instead of personal presence : the condition of the nation united into one rendered this necessary : it was a great alteration, but it stands on the same ground of the consent and the concurrence of the whole. Every freeman had in the beginning his voice
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towards chusing the general representatives. Elections began next to be confined and to be restricted: voters for counties were required to own a certain annual income in land: other restraints were likewise contrived: a nominal, artificial, fictitious freedom was introduced into cities and into towns instead of the true and the real one, a freedom only from slavery and from villenage: new and narrow rights of voting were invented: boroughs were empowered to send members of Parliament, to which the number of their inhabitants did upon a just and a general comparison by no means entitle them: places once considerable came to decay and preserved nevertheless that privilege. It is not more melancholy, than it is certain and evident, that our constitution has by the means of these abuses multiplied and increased through a succession of ages at length totally lost its true and its just bias. I must be persuaded, that the persons now possessed of its powers would upon a proper application of the public restore to us our rightful and our ancient form of government; I mean, a delegated body as one part, which being fairly, equally, generally and

impartially chosen, may represent the whole by as natural and as necessary a connection, as a shadow represents its substance or the image in a mirror its original. Is it unlawful to say, that we shall be refused our right, if that such a boon or demand shall be denied us? I trust however, that this will not be the case and the times do certainly require, that we should speedily and earnestly make the request. How vain must then be the pretence, that persons appointed in their greater and consequently their governing part by a small proportion only of the whole nation can have over us an absolute and an arbitrary power in all cases whatsoever without any exception, without redress or resource in the laws of God or of man? This is spoken with respect to Great-Britain; but when the same claim is extended over countries distant from us several thousand miles and being without the least share even in such a choice and having governments and legislatures of their own and declaring with a wonderful unanimity against that claim, how can it but be numbered with infallibility, divine right and some other pretensions of that sort, which power has at times been able
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more or less to impose and to spread among men, but against which reason exercised with any the least degree of freedom has ever most strongly revolted and remonstrated? Neither is this all; the present dispute particularly regards taxation. This ruling and this taxing body are to save and to spare in the pockets of themselves and of their constituents precisely as much money, as they take out of those of the others, a pound for a pound, a thousand for a thousand and a million for a million. Does not this circumstance contain in itself such a contrast and a contradiction, that it would appear impossible to be a point of dispute; but that at this instant treatises, addresses and I know what are writing in letters of blood, that a great continent is threatened to be laid waste with fire and with sword and that the most eminent island of the whole world is brought to the very brink of being undone upon the subject of it? Were it in a common case and about a moderate matter, would any one hear or answer it with seriousness? Would to God, that I had yet done. This same taxing body have in less than ninety years contracted for its own nation a debt of

one hundred and forty millions sterling or thereabouts besides vast sums spent and raised in the mean time. The nation is believed not to have had fair play upon that head ; but that particulars were by places, by pensions, by preferments and advantages of various and endless sorts repaid or rewarded for the burthens laid upon them by the public. None will deny or dispute this ; at least unless it should be some, who best know it to be true. Was then the hand of administration ever stronger than at this instant ? What has happened with respect to parliaments not long past must not the same be expected to happen with regard to those soon to come ; however the personal virtue of the individuals composing the present may be proof against such objects ? What must be the force of this means applied to persuade men to grant the money of others abroad, when it has had such effects upon them in the case of giving and lavishing their and our own at home ? The whole of these things being therefore taken together ; the original inequality of our elections themselves, the remote regions in question having nothing to do even with them, the interest of the taxing party

party to load those taxed for the ease of themselves, and a private, but most strong influence holding the back hand of all, I will leave it with every one to determine; whether it is wronging this proposition to reckon it among the absurdities of the first rank ever remembered to have been enforced by the hand or been advanced by the pride of power. How should any such proposition possibly consist with justice? Who can so dissolve all sense and reason, all right and wrong? Our Parliaments themselves are undoubtedly within the bounds of human beings. Are they able to separate from existence a desire of happiness or can they abolish among men the right of self-preservation? Have they deposed Providence from the government of the world or when did they wrest the sceptre out of the hands of the Almighty? Is then any one so full of himself as to fancy, that he can with a few ayes or noes at a table of corrupt or of uncorrupt men repeal and annul the general principles and laws of all nature, which not only compass and pervade this comparatively small ball of our earth; but whose beginning in time past or whose end in time to come or whose extent in

that present is every one of them infinitely beyond the very narrow bounds of his little and contemptible conception ?

So much for our legislative and I desire now to say something concerning our judicial constitution. Juries are not only a most reasonable and most equitable means of determination in matters of meum and tuum between man and man ; but they are likewise a very excellent safeguard of the general rights of the community against the attacks and the attempts of princes, of ministers or of any other powerful persons. They represent in their province the public, not by election, but as a fair, equal, indifferent part and pattern of the whole. This is the sense and the language of our law and in that meaning it is, that every one submitting to them puts himself upon his country. They have in the most dangerous and most desperate periods stood in the breach and made head against our court and its cabinet, when Parliaments were laid aside and unable to help themselves. They have then not scrupled to present and to demand justice against the successor to the throne ; which act of theirs the whole nation

nation confirmed by banishing notwithstanding the most solemn statutes him and his, when he came afterwards himself to the crown. They sheltered at the same time, as it were, under the shield of Ignoramus the friends and the defenders of the public liberty. All human institutions must ever keep an infinite distance from every production of nature; but if there is among them some one, which bears more the semblance of a divine appointment than any other; I believe it to be the democratical part of the English constitution. May heaven long preserve the whole of it entire and perfect! Being however the offspring of frailty it must perish and I appeal to every one, whether the legislative branch of it does not already begin to betray stronger proofs of its mortal birth, than the judicial. I don't nevertheless presume from thence to say, that it will sooner come to an absolute decay and corruption than the other: much less will I pretend to point out the day and the date of such a mischief. I will however shew the signs, as plainly as the sun marks the hour of the day upon the dial, by which it may be known; if such an event shall ever happen. It may be de-
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pended upon, that this case is no longer at a distance, but to be reckoned among the facts already arrived; whenever private property shall be well preserved between man and man and notwithstanding any superiority of the rich and the great; but that our princes and their ministers shall be able to take the money out of the pockets of the people at their will and their pleasure. Another strange appearance in politics and arising from one common origin with the former may possibly be at the same period likewise seen among us; I mean, every individual free in his personal concerns, but a general ruin brought upon all against the common sense and consent of the whole and without their having the means or the power to prevent it. Let us however pray, that these things may either never come to pass or at least very far from our time if that they are already written in the leaves of fate.

Our juries then have before them the great law of nature, which makes a part of the law of our and of every other land; they have our national customs and statutes and give me leave to add, that they
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have on very high and very extraordinary occasions likewise the conduct of administrations and of government; which may in some such cases possibly afford exceptions, that it is the practice never to express in our acts of parliament nor always in the books of the profession. Should therefore any one answering at the bar be ignorant; should his council be backward and bashful; should even his Judges (which I hardly know how to suppose) refuse him the full freedom of self-defence or should he be under any other hardship, I will be bold to say, that as it is immediately within the province and the power; so is it absolutely a part of the incumbent duty of his jury to remedy and to redress in the last instance all such grievances or such deficiencies. Next to heaven, let us thank and admire the wisdom of our forefathers. Juries have at most to pronounce, but two words and those only by one of themselves: they must be unanimous: a singular circumstance, but no doubt introduced at first in favour of life, of liberty and of property: they are for their sentence accountable to no man, accountable to no man; but unavoidably so to that Superior Power, which protects

protects the happiness of mankind, which prescribes to us justice for that purpose and which will by the constant course of his eternal laws certainly repay with a due retribution to them and to theirs, all who shall perform or shall neglect it. Whoever does injustice as a judge, acts in an eminent manner against himself and is at that instant preferring some other interest to his own, however he may be far from intending it at the time. The greatest concerns of our country come under the decision of juries, in many of which these do in effect give judgement upon themselves and upon their children after them. Such must be the subjects, which are now before us. I am in what is said speaking not of abuses, but of the true and the genuine constitution. It is the worst abasement and prostitution of that almost sacred name to apply or to attribute it to practices, which are its opposite and which pervert and destroy instead of maintaining and of executing it. No such thing however is or can be law against the constitution. That is, in the state, as the sun is in the firmament, all mists and vapours vanish before it : however it may by chance and for a time be under a cloud,

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it neither is nor can be extinguished: practice, usage, custom must all give way, whenever it appears. Maxims and rules of law are on such occasions not wanting to set aside abuses nor may the introduction of these be difficult to account for; although it might for the subject be happy, if that they could always be as readily removed. I declare with truth, that I have not the least meaning towards the respectable persons now presiding and sitting upon our benches, in what I am about to say; I do not at all look that way; I desire neither to flatter or to offend; although I think, that the truest compliment in my power to pay them is by the writing and the expressing my sentiments with freedom under their protection and I trust, that it will be so received; if that these mean words of mine shall have the fortune to fall into such honourable hands; but juries ought in political cases never to be forgetful or unmindful of the general influence, which the crown must naturally and necessarily have in our courts of justice. Men are ever forward enough to conform to the will and the pleasure of their visible, whatever they may be to those of their invisible Master
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or Maker. Juries then are here referred to free and uninfluenced, not picked or packed or partially chosen by the artifice of some small officer of a court or of any other person, but twelve men of the vicinage fairly and indifferently taken, twelve near neighbours of the fact to be questioned and considered and who may by that means be probably able to distinguish between a malignant desire to disturb the peace and a meritorious attempt to preserve the rights and the privileges of the public. Such is, I say, our constitution in its purity and its perfection and whenever the practice shall so far deviate from thence, as for this its true nature and essence to be lost, it becomes in those instances a mischief instead of a benefit or it remains at best an insignificant form without either virtue or effect. What would it be more, than meer mockery, to preserve this custom with scrupulousness concerning the stealing of a horse or the cutting of a purse, where there is no apprehension of injustice; but to over-rule, evade or elude it in the great questions of government, when a nation may in a manner and by the means of some one man stand trial for its first rights and interests

terests and when the necessity and the essential use of such an excellent institution especially take place? Thus then do the legislative and the judicial parts of our constitution unite and concur in one uniform, congruous, consonant system of the good and the happiness of the whole pursued and ensured by consulting the general sense upon the general concerns with respect both to the public measures and the distribution of justice; a system of consummate wisdom and the production probably not of one age or of one people: we received it as a birthright and an inheritance, our obligations for which to our ancestors will be equalled only by our own baseness, if we do not deliver down the same to their and to our posterity.

Let us on these grounds then judge the persons in question. Empannel a Boston or a Massachusetts jury to try those, whom some so often affect to term by the name of rebels. *Solventur risu tabula*---They may there be thinking of statues and of pyramids to their honour, while we are pleading about scaffolds and gibbets. I say then, that this is according to the constitution a full and a fair determination

tion of the point in dispute : the constitution itself decides the controversy : you can possibly bring these men to no conviction upon the constitution. When a people so numerous, so prosperous, possessed of very large provinces and otherwise so circumstanced (as are our countrymen of America) concur on any occasion of government in an almost unanimous refusal and resistance, it becomes and it behoves ministers carefully and candidly to examine their own conduct and to new-model or to reverse measures productive of such desperate and such fatal mischiefs : such a people have an absolute right to be ruled with their own consent, opinion and satisfaction. On the single circumstance of that right then stands without comprehending any other the American cause as firmly and as immovably, as on a rock ; although such other may perhaps be found equally strong : I say this, whether we consider the general law of nature and the necessary consequence of a sensation of good and of evil or we go upon the national constitution of England either in its legislative or its judicial branch or in both united. I press this subject for the particular purpose of bringing

ing to some degree of reason those, on whom the fate of my country at this instant depends: I would on the first of these grounds however make likewise the same claim in the name and upon the behalf of mankind, if that it became an insignificant individual to speak such a language; but I say it with a most consummate contempt of all the little, low ridicule or raillery of any base scribblers; who are ready to bark at the rights of that nature, from which they have received the very paltry talents, whereof they are proud, and who join in the cry for hunting down their country; with whose bread and whose bounty they are themselves, but too unworthily fed.

This, may say some one, is more than the Americans themselves demand: they contend only concerning taxation and their internal jurisdiction; but this goes to the whole of government. I answer, that we had better be put in mind of these things among ourselves; than to be threatened with them by others from abroad. Such is the natural consequence of our stirring dangerous and unnecessary disputes about the bounds of power and of obedience.

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The Americans well understand the rights of mankind and of themselves and so indeed do all the world and will advance them too, when they are oppressed and can support them with the sword. It will be our business, our greatest both duty and interest to give our countrymen no more cause of complaint or of discontent, if we shall have the fortune to be once again united with them. Experience has proved, that they can find arms and a very little reflection might demonstrate to us, that they will not want reasons in their defence, if we act otherwise. We shall be well off, if we pay on this occasion no worse a price for our folly; than to be forced for the future to govern, as men ought to govern and to be governed.

Some other however will possibly say, that we have a surer way of proceeding by a jury, than what is here represented; that is to enforce and to extend to America the 35th of H. 8, which with a little stretching of the 25th of Edward 3, will sufficiently answer our ends: but this proposal is neither more or less, than that we should ourselves violate and break through the constitution for the sake of calling
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other people rebels. Neither however will the statute itself bear fairly such a construction. Words are only signs of the thoughts and the ideas existing in the minds of men nor are they to be otherwise interpreted. They can on no occasion be consistently with justice extended beyond what was at the time the sense and the meaning of the persons employing them. This is a constant maxim and principle in the common proceedings of men with one another, of bodies with bodies and of individuals with individuals. No faith or confidence could on any other terms obtain among us in our ordinary and our daily dealings; but discourse and language would instead of the happy means of our mutual commerce and intercourse be no better than a snare, a trap or a pitfall. Our ancestors did at the time of passing the act in question no more think of a people bearing a great proportion to ourselves in their numbers and far exceeding us in the extent of their territories, removed at a vast distance from us, wonderfully unanimous among themselves and I am notwithstanding some late compliments and addresses persuaded, that any one may most truly add concurred

with by very much the majority of the nation at home and contending upon the general right of taxation or upon any other, I say, that they thought no more of such circumstances, than of a new heaven and a new earth. These provinces of America were then undiscovered and unknown. This act of parliament does not execute itself by internal provisions of its own : it is entrusted with the administration for the time being ; not however as an instrument of passion, of malice, of revenge ; but to be put in use on particular occasions according to the true intent and meaning with which it was enacted and on no other account. The very inhumanity and unreasonableness of bringing persons three thousand miles from the scene of the fact, from their friends and their witnesses and then trying them in a strange land for their lives do at first sight sufficiently demonstrate ; that it can only be some strained or some perverted law, on which it is possible to found so unfit a proceeding. Laws are meant and made for far other purposes or they are but ill employed, who pass them.

Suppose however an American dragged before one of our courts of justice and
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holding up his hand at the bar. It would both for its merits and its importance be a most extraordinary trial. A whole people would through one person be absolved or be condemned in their conduct; all America would be determined to be in rebellion or under oppression." The decision might much contribute to continuing in some degree the ancient union between them and us or to divide and to dis sever the chain; so as never to be again joined and united. The just and the upright judgment of a jury given in the face of the public might perhaps have an effect upon the madness of some men; which nothing has hitherto been able to check or to restrain. No one knows, how far the fate of our country or the welfare of each individual might be involved in the event. The jury would have before them the whole merits of the cause and the quarrel, in which the person accused was engaged and from whence the particular fact charged upon him must take its stamp: his last resource and redress or his last sentence and condemnation would be in them. I will enter no more into that matter; but the eyes of Great-Britain, of Ireland, of America and of other parts of the world would be upon

them and the invisible hand of the ever-ruling Power be over their heads nor might it probably be long, before that the due consequences of their good or their evil conduct would follow and be felt by them and by theirs. I don't however think; that things will come to such extremities: these would produce reprisals. That circumstance may bid fair to prevail; where reason and justice might have failed: it will probably spare all the trouble of the judge and the jury, of the heads-man or the hangman.

It is then so far from holding good, what is sometimes said; that there can be no reason or consistency in the doctrine of its never being lawful to disobey or to resist in the case of an act of parliament on any occasion or on any supposition whatsoever; that the stumbling blocks and the difficulties not to be surmounted do certainly lie on the other side. I do not mean to affirm; whether or no it is impossible to lay down in general a consistent system of despotism, consistent with itself; but incompatible with every thing besides, with liberty, with property, with science, with happiness, with
virtue,

virtue, with every thing good or great among men and give me leave to say, likewise with the benevolence of Providence and the whole apparent form of our world. This however must then be in Utopia, in some unknown or distant land: even that cannot be done with respect to Great-Britain, the scene of our present question; where are certain laws, certain statutes, Magna Charta and others, certain facts, certain points of history, the Revolution especially, which must be supported and be defended: insomuch that whoever proceeds on that ground in our country, cannot but set his foot on contradiction and absurdity, every step that he takes. No doctrine can with us wrest from the people their privileges, which will not equally pluck the sceptre out of the hands of the prince. It is not unpleasant to observe how gently and how tenderly some even truly-learned and ingenious writers embarrassed by their own principles touch the subject of the Revolution, when it lies in their way and is not to be avoided. We are *by no means to inquire into the reasons of it any further, than for instructive amusement and speculation; it may be of dangerous consequence for us to put ourselves*

in the place of our ancestors or to concern our consciences about its rectitude; it was an intirely new case in politicks and in our history and its true ground was the abdication of King James; whereas the principles of Mr. Locke, would have levelled all distinctions, have repealed all positive laws and have reduced the society almost to a state of nature. We are likewise plainly enough given to understand; that the sentiments of him and of our two other eminent patriots and writers in politicks Milton and Sydney are at the bottom much the same with those of Wat Tyler or Jack Cade; however they may be expressed in a more polite language or dressed in a more gentlemanlike garb. But does then any one seriously mean*

* Blackstone b. 1, c. 3. The true ground and principle upon which that memorable event proceeded, was an intirely new case in politicks, which had never before happened in our history; the abdication of the reigning King and the vacancy of the throne thereupon. The reasons upon which they [our ancestors] decided may be found at large in the Parliamentary Proceedings of those times and may be matter of instructive amusement for us to contemplate, as a speculative point of history; but care must be taken not to carry this inquiry further than merely for instruction and amusement. The idea, that the consciences of posterity were concerned in the rectitude of their ancestors decisions gave birth to those dangerous political heresies, which so long distracted the state. The principles of
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mean to say; that King James would have been suffered to reign again, if he had staid at Whitehall or at Rochester or at Feversham or the expulsion of that prince to have been unlawful and the establishment of King William an usurpation; if the Revolution cannot be defended on the ground of abdication? Had not the Revolution been perpetually ripening from the time of the Exclusion Bill; until the period in which it took place? The King did not quit his palace until the Prince of Orange was arrived near Henley. I wonder by what law his Highness marched so far or he was afterwards preferred on the throne before his own Queen and Queen Anne; I mean, except by that of the common consent founded on the common good? It ought for the honour of our nation ever to be remembered, how unanimous an act

of Mr. Locke, which would have reduced the society almost to a state of nature, would have levelled all distinctions of honour, rank, offices and property . . . and have repealed all positive laws.—Ditto, b. 4, c. 33. Our ancestors heard with detestation and horror these sentiments rudely delivered and pushed to most absurd extremes by the violence of a Cade and a Tyler; which have since been applauded with a zeal almost rising to idolatry; when softened and recommended by the eloquence, the moderation and the arguments of a Sydney, a Locke and a Milton.

act that great event was: a drop of blood was not spilt nor a head broken, if I may say so, on the occasion throughout our whole island: the profits of some from it might be and were much more than those of others; but the consent and the concurrence and consequently the merit of all according to their rank was alike and equal from the children of the King down to almost the meanest subject: the deed was in effect done, I will not only say, before that the King went away from Whitehall or that there was any such notable pretence for abdication; but before that the Prince of Orange landed in England or that he set sail from Holland. The whole question and introduction of that word Abdication is perfectly well known to have been only a comedy acted between the leaders of parties at the time; that the new conduct might appear to square with the old principles of some of them. The setting forth a *breach of the original contract between King and people and an endeavour to overturn the fundamental laws* and to make these a part of abdication, as was then done; what was it but for the same purpose a public and a legislative perversion of the English language, an improper application

application of that term instead of Forfeiture on the most solemn subject? How many Kings of Europe have at that rate abdicated their thrones; who never dream but of maintaining and of magnifying them? As to grounding this circumstance on the going away of one, whose father had lost his head on a scaffold by staying, I shall only observe; that however the Earl of Warwick might be somewhat of a soldier, he was but little of a lawyer not to think of the abdication of Edw. 4th; when he had driven him out of the kingdom. The parliament or pretended parliament of sixteen hundred and forty did not much mind such ceremonies; it is therefore less surprising, that they did not trouble themselves about the abdication of King Charles the 2d after the battle of Worcester. We surely ought on such subjects to write and to reason, as becomes men; they who are masters and capable of performing it, when they please. I don't mean, that passages of a different purport may not be produced out of the same well-written book; but they sound in ignorant ears very like to contradiction. How can it agree to affect extolling the fact of the Revolution; but to condemn

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or to decry the principles on which the nation in general undoubtedly acted and proceeded, when they brought it about? Little did this writer think twenty years ago to see in our nation the necessity and much less to have ever the personal honour of saying to the public one single word in support of such names; as Milton, Sydney and Locke. He does no way mean; that the principles of these persons or in his poor opinion of the Revolution itself are not just as open to be questioned and to be canvassed, as those of any other men or other fact; for what has truth to demand or to desire, but a fair discussion? So however is likewise the defence of them surely full as free against any living authority whatsoever. We are often told of the protection, which a people receive from their prince; but we are rarely reminded of that, which they confer upon him. It is however the public, that truly support the Revolution upon its real principles and who never observe without impatience either the one or the other to be disrespected or depreciated: they are sensible of these being the best barrier and security both of the subject and the prince. I do not mean applying the following reflections

fections to the respectable person, unto whose expressions I have before presumed to refer ; but *video equum ephippiatum*---- as has on other occasions been said. The horse seems to be ready saddled and bridled : it may not be difficult to discern, what might happen ; if it was not for this temper of the people. Who knows how soon we should otherwise see a right of possession raised up and the poor Revolution left to shift for itself ; by some who have reason to be its firmest and its most grateful friends. How strange would it appear to any one unpractised and unexperienced in the arts of courts, if he should be told ; that it may in some future time be the way of becoming a good courtier to profess the principles of a doubtful subject and the means of testifying loyalty towards a King to advance doctrines clashing or inconsistent with the title, by which he wears his crown ?

There is a point respecting senates, legislatures and other assemblies of that sort, which I have reserved by itself ; because that it does not relate to the present instant, although it may much concern those to come after us ; who will
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perhaps be in that regard under circumstances utterly unlike our own and for which reason I shall presume to say something upon it. Did then the laws of nature, the constitution of our country, the charters of the colonies all unanimously conspire and concur after the strongest and the plainest manner in subjecting America to the taxation of a British Parliament; this would and could only be meant of a true Parliament, of a Parliament both in word and in deed, of a free Parliament, free from corruption and from pecuniary influence, as well as from force and from violence. Should at some future time therefore the person placed in commission for the common good at the helm of the public bend and employ to the purpose of gaining, of leading, of influencing, of corrupting the members of our national assemblies all the prodigious power of the crown, by the civil list, the army, the navy, the church, the law, the customs, the excise, by our companies, by public contracts, by what are sometimes called honours and by innumerable other means, in Great-Britain, in Ireland, in North-America, in the West-Indies and the East and should he through so
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many strong temptations applied to the virtue of a few hundreds of frail men obtain unhappily his end ; I ask then, whether any jurisdiction, any authority, any claim before-mentioned, however issuing from the highest and the most sacred sources, would belong or appertain to this false, this figurative, this nominal, this venal parliament any more ; than it would to the divan of Constantinople, the conclave of Rome, the household of the King or the menial family of the Minister himself ? How does the want of liberty in such an assembly itself consist with its right of command over others ? Are not powers of the nature with that here spoken of entrusted in confidence and on condition only of their being duly and faithfully discharged ? Does it make any difference to the constituents, whether their representative body is turned from its duty by the more open and more avowed force of arms or by the baser, but no less effectual influence of corruption ? What matter is it to them ; whether it be the metal of gold or of iron, which is employed for that purpose ? Either the one or the other equally cuts the chain and the connection between them. Would the resolutions of
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a senate so circumstanced be its own sense, its addresses its own language, its statutes its own acts or those of the minister; by whom it was guided and governed and from whom they proceeded? Would not in that case the minister speak from the throne, the minister answer from the house, the minister enact, the minister execute; the right hand and the left hand of the minister be perpetually playing backwards and forwards the same ball to one another? The prudent and the proper part of Great-Britain must in such an exigency be patience, moderation and submission; to expect in peace a prince better informed, a more independent and more constitutional representative or other gentle and benignant relief from the goodness of Providence. Great-Britain would be under the immediate hand of power: the bridle might be in its mouth and the saddle on its back. A minister however would perhaps find tougher work on the other side of the Atlantic: the means, and the instruments of his influence would be at three thousand miles distance from thence or very slightly scattered throughout that vast country. Should then such a one not content with having
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at his feet Great-Britain, Ireland, our prodigious possessions in the East-Indies and our rich islands in the West and instead of pitying the state of the public throw through an ambitious desire and an inconsiderate eagerness to extend the same absolute sway over the continent of America the whole into an utter distraction and confusion totally ungovernable by himself; who could but be struck with admiration of the manner, in which the passions, the vices and the follies of men are punished by the very means of their own effects and consequences? But let us avert our views from this melancholy scene blessing ourselves; that however any one may fancy himself to see some resemblance of the latter, the former part of it is very different from any thing passing in our days or before our own eyes.

But it may be asked; what are these laws of Nature, which are thus opposed to the positive statutes of a prince or a state; where are their sanctions, their rewards and their punishments? Can a French cook serve a dinner by the fitness of things or will their eternal relations

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furnish our houses or pay our equipages? Are we to part with our places and our pensions only to possess theorems and systems? I answer, that I have no such meaning; I understand much better to whom I am talking. I am fully sensible; that the love of mankind and of our country, the regard and the affection of good men in return, an honest ambition of a fair name together with many other considerations of the same sort are by some people held, as unworthy and below the notice of a wise man. I cannot persuade myself to be of the same sentiment. I refer however here to the most substantial good and evil; although not always observed or attended to, before that it is too late and that it happens. Examples might easily be produced of statesmen, of churchmen and of gownsmen in times past; of Strafford, of Laud, of Jefferies and of others; who little thought of the mischiefs, which they were bringing upon their masters and how soon they should pay their own forfeit on a scaffold or in a prison; until that these events themselves took effect. Any one might perhaps approach nearer and name another Judge, whose

whose evil and fatal counsels had no small share in first shaking the throne ; which the violence of Jefferies afterwards overthrew. The descendant of such an ancestor might be advised well to beware, lest measures formed upon the same plan and founded upon the same principles may in our days likewise be productive of some similar or some correspondent catastrophe, so far similar or correspondent as the general circumstances of each period will permit. To pass by however such old stories and let the turn of any particular time be what it will ; I say, that the evils following the offences against this universal law are so far from being only the inventions of fancy, from being doubtful or in the present case distant ; that they appear now to be near at hand and that no one knows ; in how short a time our rulers, our leaders and we ourselves shall all feel at least our own full share of them. The conduct of Providence comprehends a cycle far beyond the conception of man. We appear instead of being able to avoid the necessary consequences of our own actions not free from danger of suffering the evil effects arising from mis-

chiefs first begun in the days of our forefathers ; I mean, unless that we shall prevent them by an instant alteration of our course ; but of which there appears by far too little likelihood. Our government has ever since the Revolution been sapping and undermining by corruption. This once noble fabric built up by our ancestors and the work of many ages might nevertheless have probably been upheld and repaired, might for succeeding generations have continued affording shelter and safety to its numerous inhabitants by the means of a proper prudence and foresight in those ; to whom the care and the guardianship of it are confided. But the blind Sampsons of our state have on the contrary themselves set their shoulders against its props and its supports and are pulling down the whole pile on our heads and their own : the pillars already tremble, the walls give way, the roof divides and we bid fair to be buried under the ruins ; before that these frantic ministers shall recover any share of their reason. What prodigies do we expect ; that beasts should speak, that men should be seen fighting in the air, that the heavens should drop blood or that graves should open and give up

up their dead? Is it imagined, that Jerusalem had ever more signs of her ruin; than Britain has at this moment of its own? Reason, experience, facts, events all oppose our proceedings and point towards the gulph, into which we are going. But to what end serves any admonition of God or of man? Every warning, every notice, every discouragement and miscarriage prove only the cause of some new and further measure more extravagant, more ruinous, more wild, more mad than that, which went before. The whole will certainly suffer and be overwhelmed; but do the authors of these things expect to remain themselves safe and exempt in the midst of universal mischief or that they shall not be crushed in the common confusion of their own creating; even if the nation itself should be so far sunk and weakened, as in its own capacity to think of no vengeance nor to demand any account at their hands?

It may however be further asked on this subject; if then these things are in truth any other than only pretended terrors in the air; why do not men more mind them nor the ambitious and the powerful

powerful be perpetually pursuing wrong and rapine without apprehension? I answer, that this is exactly the same case with respect to human and to apparent instruments of punishment. How many a man commits robbery or murder while his fellow is hanging upon a gibbet over his head? Offenders are continually caught in the fact before a court of justice and the face of a judge. The transported felon returns unlawfully to his country one day and to his former practices the next. It does not however follow from thence, that there are no civil laws or civil penalties nor that these persons do not in the end feel and suffer by them. Fortune determines the first station of every man. Suppose therefore these same people born in palaces and bred in purple. They would have been nursed and, as it were, fed with flattery instead of eating the bread of misery and of penury. Their situation would have secured them from their present temptations and perils. Might not they then have inherited many crowns and kingdoms in Europe and out of it? Why could not they in a rank rather lower have become hereditary or elective legislators? Many of these unhappy men do not
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want parts or talents. Schooled, taught and called might none of them have come to sit upon benches and, I dare be bound that it will only move the mirth of some very respectable persons, if these questions should be pushed even so far as to ask; whether they might not in such a case and in former times have by the help of a little more transposition possibly hanged those, who in the actual course of things have hanged them? Education, circumstances, situation do wonderfully vary our outward drapery and the particular objects of our pursuit; but they do not perhaps so much alter our inward form and fashion or the turn and the temper of our minds. However unwelcome a maxim it may sometimes be; human nature is in all conditions ever understood to be at the bottom much the same. If we do not therefore suffer ourselves to be imposed upon by the reverence of robes nor to be fooled with the fancy of ribbands nor to be dazzled with the splendor of crowns and of coronets; it will not be an hour's wonder with us, that the laws and the punishments of nature are by the high and the great often overlooked and neglected; although the first are eternal and universal and the latter are most just and

and that it will be well ; if we do not by our own experience soon find them to be also heavy and unavoidable.

I have one more word to say upon my present subject, which is; who have made the Americans rebels, if they are such? How long is it since that western world was in peace, in submission, in obedience; when the wild, the wanton, the unjust and the absurd attempt to tax them at Westminster put at once into disorder that whole continent? What a medley has there been since that time of odious and impolitic bills, of arbitrary alterations of charters, of despotic plans of government, of cruel schemes of resentment, of harsh and unbecoming language, of proud and contemptuous rejections of application? Rapaciousness begun, oppression followed, violence supported and contumely added insult to all the rest; insomuch that we have by these means and these measures so hastened and so heaped on one another atchieved the revolt of thirteen provinces and perhaps the loss of more in almost as little time, as a man can tell ten. When some people found forth the pretended offences of our brethren abroad;

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one would almost expect that the force of truth should oblige them to add; that they have themselves been the cause of all the mischiefs, of which they are complaining. But say some; the American plan now begins to open and they are setting up independent republics among themselves. It is however a certain truth, that they intended and endeavoured no such thing three years ago: it appears likewise true, that they now propose it or that they will probably do so very soon. What is then the reason or the occasion of this great and sudden difference in such essential affairs? As truly and as surely our own conduct and management or rather that of our ministers. Rage, malice and revenge are now bringing up the rear of all the preceding righteous train and are intended to give the final blow; but it will be very contrary to the common course of things; if that these passions do not in the end turn upon their own masters, who resign to them the reins of their conduct and who make them the guides of their actions against others. May heaven however preserve this poor nation from being the victim and the sacrifice on so unfit an occasion!

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So much upon the head of rebellion ; but some new arguments seem to be introduced on the general matter ; at least since that this writer presumed last to trouble the public upon the subject of our American disputes. The minister himself is said to have advanced ; that this single island paying yearly in taxes at least ten millions sterling and a dozen of our colonies together not one hundred thousand pounds it is fit and proper, that we should add to their proportion. I must confess myself pleased, that certain men begin at length to signify some sense of the load and the incumbrances lying upon this nation : it is to be hoped ; that they may in time proceed to the intention of lightening and of lessening them. But what an expedient for that purpose is the present of an American civil war ! May it rather be ever the lot of our enemies to alleviate their burthens and to ease their distresses in such a manner and by such methods ! My answer however is on this occasion ; that no reason can demonstrate the right of Great-Britain to tax America or of America to tax Great-Britain ; but that it would on those grounds follow, not that we ought to perform that good office for them ; but that

that they should do it for us and that all England would say amen, if the point of one taxing the other was proved between us. Suppose on the one hand a very rich man to squander his all and to run himself exceedingly into debt, more than he or his can possibly expect to discharge. Suppose on the other side one of moderate means paying to all their own and saving for himself and his family: would you in that case make the richer prodigal or the poorer prudent person the steward for them both? What man in Britain apprehends, that our state would be more indebted, than it now is; if the assemblies or a congress of our colonies had instead of our own parliaments taxed us from the Revolution to this day? But what would at the present instant be the condition of the poor people with whom we are on this subject at war, if the reverse had been the case? I don't know, with what to compare such a proposition; except with the idle talk of school-boys at their dinners; that he who has done first should help his neighbour. We may perhaps be here put in mind of our protection, our protection not to be put in comparison with that of a contemptible colony and that people ought

ought ever to remember the abundance of protection received in return for the demands made upon them. I believe however; that ill-managed states have seldom much to boast of on that subject. The general bad conduct of a private man's affairs may commonly be discerned in the domestic disorder of his household. It is delivered down to us as a proof of the good government of King Alfred; that a maiden bearing a purse of money in her hand might in his reign have gone from one end of the kingdom to the other without fear of violence either to her person or her property. How is it with us? Can a man almost sleep in his bed within the walls of our metropolis or travel on the King's high-road with safety and with security? Have we not among us more capitalcondemnations and executions, than all Europe besides? Does nevertheless any one believe, that our people have in them a native iniquity or an original profligacy, beyond what there is in the rest of mankind? Are not in truth and at the bottom the accursed taxes and the insupportable burthens of our country a considerable cause of the rapines, the robberies, the frauds, the forgeries and other offences of
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the same sort now rife and reigning among us? I would for the honour of human nature willingly carry this reasoning so far; as to account in some measure by the same means even for the venality and the prostitution obtaining at this time among the great and the qualified themselves. We are notwithstanding told; that taxation is no tyranny; but I cannot conceive, in what corner of this kingdom, that expression could be picked up. It surely becomes any one using such discourse to explain; for what he pays taxes besides the produce of a place or a pension: lest it should look like the licentious language of some bold beggar in the streets pretending to wonder; that the owner of a house was alarmed at its being in flames, whereas he himself warmed his fingers very comfortably at the fire. Protection and expence however do not go hand in hand in government: experience proves, that the rule ought rather to be reversed. Let any one look around the world and frugal, economical states maintained at a small charge and with a tenderness towards the property of the subject will almost ever be found most distinguishable for a peaceable disposition and an obedience to the laws

laws in their people at home ; as well as the least disturbed by the insults and the attacks of their enemies abroad. Consider our plantations the objects of our present comparison and into which we perpetually empty our jails, as into a jacques : are nevertheless to be seen there such sure marks of mis-rule and mis-government ? It may look like much too ludicrous a question on so truly and exceedingly serious a subject ; but might not in most countries as good a king be had for a thousand pounds a year and without putting up their regencies to auction, as any now known to reign, I mean, excepting our own ? How many a people in Europe would at least think themselves most happy to have the experiment tried in their own state ? *Nolo regnare* is a new language and to be as yet learned among men. There is an expression of the same sort said sometimes to fall from a reverend profession and yet how very worthily and let me add not very unwillingly is a certain honourable bench constantly filled ? Inasmuch that were as many more wanted, their places might possibly be supplied ; although not equally well. Would to God therefore that high duties and taxes,
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heavy pressures and burthens were in a nation; but half as sure a sign of protection and of security, as they are of corruption and of venality and I know a kingdom (to which the writer wishes most extremely well) that might bid full defiance to all its foes without and through which Alfred's maiden might within travel as safely in our days, as ever she did in his. Let however some men instead of despising, suspending, overturning the assemblies and the legislatures of our colonies rather think in what respects to copy and to imitate governments so much better administered than their own : let them try an other time to find some more striking reason for taking their domestic taxation out of their hands into ours, than their discretion and our own extravagance.

Here I quit then this new argument ; that we ought to tax our colonies, because we do that matter so very imprudently for ourselves. It is likewise reported to have been flung out from the same quarter ; that our wars have ever since the Revolution been the wars and that our debt is therefore in consequence the debt not of our ministers, but of our people.

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This may appear rather to relate to the part of our nation resident in England or in Britain, than to those in America: as it seems however meant to throw the occasion of our actual necessities and rapaciousness on the whole collective community and as I verily believe the present dispute to be the general cause and concern of all the members of our great empire against a handful of over-bearing men and also the fact itself to be totally different from what is so represented; I desire to say something on the subject. The whole pretence is plainly and totally groundless. There is in all the domestic history of our country nothing more notorious, than how much our administrations have ever since the Revolution been constantly masters and unrestrained. Whatever picqueering there might in the time of King William be between the two ancient parties or between individuals desirous to be at the head; that matter was always ordered in the cabinet by shuffling and cutting or balancing between whig and tory and tory and whig. For how very small a part did the body of the people or their inclinations or their interests ever enter into government; after that the
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great event of the Revolution itself effected through them was to the minds of a few leading men once settled and regulated. It is well known how in the reign of Queen Anne one set of ministers made war and another set made peace at their pleasure and how their respective parliaments backed them both. Different parliaments did then contradict one another; but there has since been an improvement made upon that practice; for the same parliament has on a change of ministers and of measures not scrupled readily and directly to contradict itself. The power of the crown and of those appointed by it has from these periods been continually increasing until the present time; if there was between thirty and forty years ago in the reign of King George the 2d once a momentary appearance of an independent majority it passed away in an instant like a flash of lightning. The honour and the merit are no doubt to be attributed to our administrations; if that the nation has from the beginning of the reign of King William been strengthened, enriched and improved; more than might naturally have been expected in a course of near ninety years: but to whom then

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belong the guilt and the disgrace; if that it is on the contrary since that time weakened, beggared and undone? These things are in general; but let me be suffered to say a word concerning our wars themselves. Whoever has heard of the name of King William knows; that an opposition to France was his ruling passion. He first led us into Flanders and into Germany; where so much of the precious blood and treasure of this nation has since been spent. There was some ground of gratitude towards him; but our obligations should have been paid in a more prudent manner and that was in a good degree perhaps then already done by the gift of the crown. He dying left us at his decease the legacy of a French war. Queen Anne and her counsellors administered; but what was the public better than betrayed by our being again led against the almost impregnable cities and fortifications of Flanders? Our nation was then in its vigour: the Spanish Indies, Mexico, Peru, Manilla and the rest of those rich regions were open to us almost without defence. What it was probably in our power to have then done upon that ground; if we had to the utmost availed ourselves of our fleet, as we might

might and as we ought; the events of the last war sufficiently testify. Our conquests there were besides to have by treaty belonged to us: whereas we bargained for nothing upon the continent of Europe except to expend our men and our money. Our next war was soon after the accession of King George the first; when Bremen and Verden extended their influence into the Mediterranean and involved us in hostilities with Spain. That court accepted of peace through force: the Emperor profited by it: the evil of the war all fell on ourselves. The Spaniards long remembered and resented our conduct on that occasion; if they have at this day forgotten it. From thence proceeded their many insults, injuries and depredations; which produced the last war but one forced upon us by those means in defence of our commerce and called for by our merchants on that account and under those circumstances. This has been our only necessary war since the Revolution nor was any one of the three former entered into even upon the subject of our own interests. The mischief of this measure was first in the miserable management and then in a French war brought on by our

German campaigns and German measures in the middle of it and which was even worse conducted and made by that means yet a greater grievance than the other. There remains to be mentioned only the late war. I wonder, who called for that? Not the Americans. Some men could at that time not sleep in their beds and in peace for want of a war with France to amuse them, when they were waking. There were then forward; who are said to have now been not backward in pressing and in recommending the present American mischief. The French built castles, but had no numbers of inhabitants in America; hardly a hundred thousand men, women and children; when we took Canada. Our people on the contrary multiplied in a prodigious proportion; but did not much trouble themselves about building castles. I wonder; whether that the castles were in the end most likely to take the men or the men to take the castles or why our Americans might not have been left to judge; when was the season to settle with the sword the bounds between themselves and their neighbours on that vast continent; as would probably one day be done; but the more in all appearance to our advantage,

vantage, the longer that it was deferred. We armed however, as it were, in silence: the nation was suddenly engaged in hostilities and in reprisals. So much for our adventures in the fields of Mars; but what necessary connection have less than half a dozen wars with a debt of one hundred and forty millions sterling? Do not we read and hear of wars throughout our whole history? Our ancestors have seated their King on the throne of France. The reign of Queen Elizabeth was almost a continued scene of war. She is well known to have nevertheless refused in the mean time the money offered by her people. King Charles the first was not without foreign war. The mock commonwealth waged war. Cromwell to be the more like a King would have his war. Had not we several wars under Charles the second? But there was with all these things no national debt at the revolution; hardly of a single shilling. This immense fabric and system of our funds has all been raised since that time; a structure never equalled in the world of its kind; a building that may in its consequences cause more and worse confusion; than ever did Babel: although after a different manner.

Our common income raised on the public and without reckoning the collection is by this means now mounted to between ten and eleven millions sterling annually. The whole of this immense edifice are our wise ministers at this moment undermining and going by their trains to blow up into the air and if I may so express myself about the ears of themselves, of us and of all Europe. Providence was by a long interval of peace pleased to afford us an opportunity of so new modelling the system of our taxes, our revenue and our trade; as that we might have stood under our prodigious burthen and perhaps have in time lessened or discharged it. That season is now passed in vain and we shall in all appearance never have such another: a proper plan for that purpose could never enter into breasts susceptible of our present most extravagant schemes: far other counsels, very different conceptions were required for that end. It is always suspicious, that something is bad at the bottom; when ministers endeavour to shift upon the shoulders of the people measures or events; which they are at all times exceedingly unwilling to suffer them to have any real share in the forming

ing or the producing. Let however some men at least consider the extreme importance and consequence of our present incumbrances now that they are brought upon us and do subsist; by whatever means, these things have happened: let them well reflect; that whosoever was the debt, theirs will be the bankruptcy; if they shall drive us into one.

It will hardly fail of being here asked, whether all administrations since the Revolution are included in these observations and particularly, whether there is any exception kept for the noble Lord; who conducted a considerable part of the late war. I answer; that as long as the health of that noble person will permit him to pay any attention to the business of the public; so long will in any extraordinary or difficult conjuncture his country certainly cast their eyes towards him. His Lordship is said to have on this occasion been not wanting to offer his advice and his assistance in his situation, as one of the legislature and the great council of the nation. A very respectable assembly of America have declared, that the propositions thrown out by his Lordship might

might united with those of the continental congress be made to serve for the basis or the beginning of a treaty of accommodation. The conduct of the noble Lord, as a minister, has therefore not only a relation to the past and the general concerns; but likewise a connexion with this present and this especial exigency of our country. Every public person submits of course his actions to the examination and the opinion of the whole; who are warranted to canvass them with freedom; so far as their own welfare, their good or their evil is or has been affected by them. I don't know; that his Lordship was an active adviser of the last war; that did not at least appear in public. It was however begun with other counsels and those very unlike his Lordship's. What campaigns in Germany and in America and what neglect of the Mediterranean and of Minorca! Let us draw, the veil over those disgraces. The nation sensible of its situation crouched under the apprehensions of a foreign invasion. Our ministers for the time being however had happily so much wit at least, as to perceive their own weakness and their want of assistance. When the counsels of Providence

dence and the course of events are fully
 ripe for the ruin of a people ; these fall
 under the government of men equally
 blind to all outward circumstances and
 to their own insufficiency ; but that mo-
 ment was with us not then come. In
 this state and condition of the public Lord
 Chatham was called to the helm. How
 sudden and how glorious a change for this
 country then took place ; I shall leave for
 our history to tell ; to tell perhaps, after
 that the government itself of Great-Bri-
 tain shall be no more ; which period how-
 ever let us hope to be very far removed ;
 much farther than some signs seem at pre-
 sent to threaten and to forewarn. It
 would be impertinent to repeat here the
 long and the well-known catalogue of our
 victories, our conquests and our acqui-
 sitions under his Lordship's conduct in
 Europe, in Asia, in Africa and in Ame-
 rica ; as the language of the times then
 was. When a French fleet had set sail
 known to be destined for the invasion of
 these realms and that no news came of it
 for some days, how indifferent an object
 of idle curiosity and inquiry was it with
 us ? His Lordship united all the parts of
 this great empire and turned and employ-
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ed against its enemies the combined strength of the whole. I don't know, whether I may say; that he was as fortunate at union, as some men have since been effectual at division: the whole world may perhaps be well challenged on that head; but he and others have each had their different means of administration and the effects have on both sides accordingly and perfectly corresponded. How is our America changed since that time! Under whose banners did it then serve and then fight? But for what design are its colours now flying, its swords now drawn, its armies now marching, its artillery now mounted: who and where are its enemies and against whom are all these preparations provided and intended? —The war however went on in Germany and we continued to run in debt under his Lordship.—Nothing will ever induce me to deny the having learnt with my alphabet in politics; that our island ought on such occasions to keep clear of the continent: the whole experience of my life has to the greatest degree further strengthened in me the same opinion nor do I in the least doubt; but that I shall to my last day

day continue in it so confirmed and corroborated. I am yet more averse to borrowing, than to the other step, if possible, and so far as they are different. Were it not for our debt; the maddest set of ministers would be put to it totally to undo the nation within the period of their power. Lord Chatham did not however first carry us into Germany; he found us there. I will not enter into the particular circumstances of Hanover or into any difficulties with regard to giving it up at that time, engaged as it was; but a defensive war in that country was certainly very different from an offensive one in Flanders: our enemies consumed in that contest many men and much treasure. With respect to the latter point of money matters; Lord Chatham did not during the preceding peace guide the reins of government. He never had the power or the opportunity of settling any previous establishment on which to have supported a war without adding to our debt: the midst of hostilities with France was not a fit moment for such a purpose. The revenue withal was not within the province of his Lordship. He recommended
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in the first season of his ministry a scheme for a tax; but which his colleagues in government refused: I might perhaps have something to say on that particular subject; were it to my purpose. It was however without doubt infinitely preferable to gain every thing with an additional debt of twelve millions a year than to lose all with one of eight. His Lordship's plan appears to have been the making by victory way to a speedy, an honourable and an advantageous peace and he nobly performed his part towards it. Every candid man will in reflecting on this subject consider; how much our wonderful success and conquests were evidently owing to the counsels of Lord Chatham; as likewise how far any difficulties or embarrassments observable in his measures proceeded from the situation and the circumstances of the nation; at the time that the administration of it came into his hands. Fortune however has probably never suffered us to see or to experience the full effects of the views and the designs of his Lordship. This able statesman was not long after the conclusion of the late war again called to take upon him the care and the conduct of our government.

ment. I am perfectly persuaded, that his Lordship would in such a situation have disdained to use his post or his power only for the purpose of heaping profits and advantages on himself, his friends or his family: that he would hardly have laid his head on his pillow with comfort nor have seen the face of the sun with satisfaction; until he had established the nation on some sure and solid ground of being able to discharge its debts in time of peace and to make head against its enemies in time of war. His capacity would have comprehended the means and the extent of our commerce, the sources and the effects of our taxes and the mutual combinations and relations of these two great objects with each other: his understanding would have enabled him to avail himself of the lights and the assistance of others; where any thing of that kind might be required. It is inconceivable; but what our condition and our circumstances would in the nature of things have admitted of such a system and a settlement, if that a due consideration and attention had been given to so important a subject and if our late time of leisure and of quiet had been properly employed to
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that most essential and absolutely necessary purpose. However motley the administration then formed by his Lordship is represented to have been; he seems to have meant to manage and to govern them by the means and as it were the dint of wife, of honest and of good measures. I trust, that he would have accomplished as much: that way would have over-borne all opposition: the public would have co-operated with him: his Lordship had proved that in the progress of the late war. A prince or a minister and the people united can do wonders: although that may unhappily be an experiment not often put to the proof. But the Guardian Genius of Great-Britain slept at that moment. Lord Chatham was driven by sickness from the helm and how different a scene of affairs is now before our eyes! The evening sun of this great minister seems to be setting with a beauty and a lustre answerable to the blaze and the brightness of his meridian. The last endeavours of his Lordship during his season of health and in the capacity of an independent patriot have been to reconcile the differences and to prevent the calamities of the public by a scheme of accommodation

modation between us and our colonies and likewise to improve the independence of Parliament by a most well-judged proposition of doubling the members for our counties in the House of Commons together with correspondent provisions for the House of Peers ; but which latter I will not presume to repeat. The writer wishes the welfare of his Lordship for the remainder of his days accordingly and in just proportion ; as his services and his conduct towards his country have deserved : the same is his most sincere prayer with respect to every public person, minister or any other. May all men wear eternal laurels earned by their merits : may all men bear on their own heads only all the evils brought about by themselves ! These things come from one hardly known to Lord Chatham except in public and whose obligations to him are only in common with all the kingdom. This small incense is unworthy the envy of any man : a poor, but due tribute of this kind is all the little return or reward likely to be received by those ; who endeavour at this time to serve or to save their country. As to the general affairs before us ; his Lordship's opinion
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having on that subject been rejected: and a contrary plan being pursued: what can we expect but likewise a success and an issue totally different from those; which we formerly experienced under the counsels and the conduct of his Lordship?

We are however sometimes told; that it is not they, who cry war and havock; but who recommend peace and reconciliation: not they who passed or who enforced the stamp or the tea bills; but who repealed the one and who have attempted to do the same by the other, that have made all this mischief. I shall in answer to this only wish; that Providence may be pleased to restore the public to the state, in which it was before the date or between the execution of those acts and I will not add (but the nation itself would readily enough;) may the peace produced by the present measures be upon the authors of them! People must however be surely hard driven in their own defence; when they condescend to employ such an argument.

But what shall we say to the authority and the supremacy of the Legislature sometimes

times founded so high? I trust myself to have already been sufficiently full and explicit on that head. It is however a most respectable expression: I know none more so relative to human affairs; so far as it is founded on the true constitution of our country and when it is confined within the bounds prescribed by God and by Nature to human government. I bear it at all events so much reverence; that I shall avoid to speak over-freely on the subject of it: but so much I must say; that whenever it is prostituted to signify directly or indirectly the pleasure of a prince or a minister or is put for arbitrary power and for absolute despotism, in whatever hands placed; the sanctity of it is exceedingly lessened. As to another language of the credit and the steadiness and the consistency of government often in some men's mouths I must frankly confess myself not so much to worship those words: they perpetually appear to me to mean no more than the posts and the places of those employing them. A total alteration of our measures might possibly demand likewise one among our ministers. That impediment removed, what further difficulty is there in the case? How can the honour

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of government be really engaged in any measures otherwise, than according to the rectitude of them? Prudent, upright, beneficial proceedings do a credit to all governments: but for weak, unjust, destructive ones; surely the sooner that they are got rid of so much the better. I flatter myself, that I could on this occasion have furnished certain persons with a hint not unworthy of their reflection; if I had enjoyed the honour of being in their counsels: which would have been; to have instead of drawing so very deeply upon the public made rather some demand upon their own modesty; I mean to have changed their measures; but to have tried whether they could not by the help of a good friend in the cabinet have kept their posts. One would have thought, that they should not have wanted advice on this head; but *nemo omnibus horis*—They appear now to have unnecessarily staked both their country and their places; if nothing else besides.

Some one may however ask; why is there so much contention about these colonies; cannot we well live without them? How do many other nations and how did
we

we in the reign of Queen Elizabeth? To which I say; peace be with the spirit of that excellent princess; whom I cannot mention or think of without honour: although it may perhaps be the fashion of the times to reflect upon her name and that there may be reason for it; since these do certainly very little resemble hers. Heaven only knows; whether that exalted spirits look down from above upon the affairs of mortal men; whether they interest themselves in our concerns or receive satisfaction from our respect and our remembrance of them: the writer however finds a pleasure in professing his reverence for the memory of that incomparable Queen; whom he holds for one of the first crowned heads, that ever sat on this or on any other throne: the distinguishing mark and character of whose reign were a true care of her people and of the public; who commanded money and taxes granted to her by unbribed and by unbought parliaments to remain in the pockets of her subjects, as her best and her surest treasury: I wonder; whether these our invaluable provinces would have been under revolt against the mother country on the subject of taxation, when that

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Queen wore the crown of England; if they had then belonged to us. I am however very far from meaning to charge this unfortunate event upon the person of our gracious Prince: the royal breast is reported to have been filled and inspired with a warm affection to our colonies. It must be makers of mischief, whisperers, flatterers, evil ministers and favourites; who alone can in the present æra cause our troubles and our grievances. Persons indeed of that sort are said to have from the truly great Princess before spoken of found but little entertainment and I trust, that they will equally be discouraged or be discharged; if any such should have presumed to approach the presence of majesty in our days and if the fruits of their works shall by this time have but too fully testified the nature of the parent stock; from which they must be sprung. It is however true; that in those times Scotland was not united, Ireland not subdued, our West-Indies not planted, our East-Indies not settled nor Africa frequented by us: we were nevertheless a great, a glorious, a flourishing and an improving people. Colonies and dependencies are doubtless not absolutely necessary to a nation;

tion ; but there must according to an ancient expression be no brick to make, where no straw can be procured. There must in such a case not be every year to pay near five millions of pounds sterling for the interest of a debt nor above five other millions to find for current services ; there must not be more than ten millions to bring annually clear and neat into an exchequer. I wonder how our ministers will manage these matters without America. It is there, that the political shoe pinches those, who seem to feel nowhere else. Were it not for this cause ; America might be the main and that whole continent be put upon the cast of a die. Were we out of wantonness or for amusement stripped in a course of less than three years of all our provinces ; the debt of honour might possibly be paid and we nevertheless not become bankrupt ; but it is another conjuncture now. How will some people in the present situation provide for our increased navy, our various and numerous armies, our standing troops, our militia, our foreign forces, Dutch, Hanoverians, Hessians, Brunswickers, Russians and the Lord knows yhom ; I say, for the ordinance, the transport

port service, the civil list, for all the extraordinary efforts now making ; as well as the common strength and trappings of our most expensive government ? What will they answer ; if a desperate and a starving people, a licentious and an ill-paid soldiery tired with plundering and with destroying each other should unite in requiring reason of them, as of the authors of all their evils ? What satisfaction will they make ; if a debt of near upon a hundred and forty millions of pounds sterling shall one day be demanded at their hands ? The proudest and the most ornamented among them may in such a time look very small : they do nevertheless not know and they seem full as little to reflect ; whether or no that hour is very far off. This is the point, which I would likewise willingly press upon our country gentlemen. It may seem a specious language to some : why cannot we silently and quietly sink into an absolute monarchy ; like so many other nations around us ? We shall nevertheless enjoy our mansions, our parks, our tables, the regard of our friends and the respect of our neighbours : we may indeed be obliged to bend to a few superiors ; but the natural pride of man will

will be pleased and be flattered with a great number of inferiors, over whom he may himself lord it a little in return : Who can then call this such an uncomfortable or an insupportable life ? I will not in answer to these things once more point out some of the noblest parts of the world laid waste by despotism : I will not endeavour to rouse or to raise in support of the public liberty and prosperity the honourable blood received from the ancestors and running in the veins of those to whom I am now particularly presuming to apply myself ; but I say ; that this pleasing dream of such a peaceable change cannot in our circumstances possibly take place. Bankruptcy and the breach of our provinces from us necessarily must and inevitably will produce distraction, confusion, convulsions and every evil ; which these persons do with very great reason ever the most fear and most abhor. Should two such very considerable portions of this empire, as the mother country and our colonies of North-America separate from each other only to meet again in a contention of arms ; all English estates cannot but be broken into a thousand shatters by the shock and the conflict.

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Should the funds fail; however some men may flatter themselves about a sponge and the wiping off our debts in such a way; their lands will infallibly be brought to nothing long enough before even the boldest minister will venture upon that measure; however ill it may besides fare in the mean time with the public creditors. I verily believe, that there is in Europe no rank and number of men whatsoever without exception more to be envied than the country gentlemen of England nor perhaps so much; if that the nation shall continue in the same internal peace and tranquility as it has for many ages past enjoyed: but so then on the other hand there being throughout our whole kingdom not one single fortified place, no city, town, royal or private castle capable of resistance neither are in appearance any persons more exposed, more helpless or less prepared for self-defence, than they; if that these blessings shall unhappily leave our island and give way to rapine, to plunder and to violence; either coming upon us from abroad, like a cloud, or arising among ourselves, as a pestilence. Some one however may here say; if that this America is such a fine and a spacious place; as is often

often talked of: why may not we emigrate thither, as well as others? Be it so; but will the same ranks be maintained in New England as in Old; may in that day possibly the low not be made high and the high be made low? Is the fable forgotten of a prince and a ploughman cast together upon a strange coast and how much better the latter fared, than the former? An English country gentleman will make but an indifferent figure with the Atlantic ocean between him and his estate; when high taxes, abatement of rents, breaking of tenants and other domestic disorders shall absorb or shall prevent his remittances. Let this matter be turned in all its lights, let the subject be considered on every side and it may be depended upon; that there will be found no possible safety or welfare for this now happy and fortunate, as well as most respectable order of men; except by the preservation of all the essential parts of our great empire in peace, in union and in harmony with each other. These things are so clear and so striking; that the present indifference, abjectness, despondency, or whatever it is to be called of our landed gentlemen in this most critical conjuncture of their country is indeed

deed very strange. They might do much did they exert themselves on the occasion: their proper applications could not well be resisted or refused; but causes appear to be even from that quarter preparing, conspiring and concurring towards our ruin. These persons will one day have hearty reason to repent them of their conduct; but the time and the opportunity will then be past and beyond the power of man to call back. There is another more hardened and more hard-hearted race, who may not in an universal calamity merit perhaps any particular compassion; but to whom I would nevertheless say something; I mean, the expectants of a court and the creatures of a minister. Such are the circumstances and the condition of these times, that even they will in all appearance be little longer able to enjoy peaceably their places and their profits; unless that they shall likewise consent to join in the saving of their country. It will be but poor plundering of the public for people; who shall by the means of foreign enemies or by any other general misfortunes be themselves the prey of others. So far is it then from being indifferent for us in our present situation

tuation to forego America; that it would be a much nicer question, whether there is almost a single man in the kingdom; who will not find and feel the loss of it.

One ingenious gentleman however declares himself to have discovered; that there can be no medium or accommodation between us and the Americans; no such peace and terms, as subsisted from the first foundation of the colonies until within these very few years; until the story of the stamps and afterwards from the repeal of that act to the project of the tea; no such as does at this time most happily obtain between us and Ireland: I say, that a figure has been formed, by which all this is found to be utterly impossible under the present planet and we are given to understand instead; that no alternative is left for us; but either to bring them into absolute subjection, that is, in plain English to cut their throats or else to cast them off. The turn is in the mean time to revile and to abuse the Americans; that so our wise and merciful administration may be supported first in trying the bloody experiment and then in losing our colonies; if that shall not succeed.

ceed. It is nevertheless but a very short time, not above three or four years at most; since that rivers of gold and of silver kept constantly, quietly, gently flowing from that continent into the mother country and the seat of empire. Things might have so continued: the cause of rupture did not come from their part: it proceeded from Great-Britain. Why might not we then have let them gone on pouring their millions into our laps; at least while they were willing? What has on a sudden brought us into this new and this desperate dilemma; if we are under such a one? Undoubtedly, our own extreme folly and madness and nothing else. This is as certain; I will not say, as demonstration; but as matter of fact can make it. So much for the time past and concerning that to come; since the making of peace is certainly, as cheap and as easy and probably as sure likewise; as cutting the throats of hundreds of thousands of armed men: why should we in the first place not employ that means and do these Americans the honour to accept from them some further quantities of that trash; for which they substitute paper in their country, but which Englishmen have

have a wonderful fondness to handle in specie? Why will it not be time enough for telling them to set up for themselves; when we do not want or are not willing to meddle with any more of their money? Will not the proposed expedient be at all times ready to our hands without trouble? But *quid non mortalia pectora cogis*---What will not the taste of some preferment and the desire of more induce men to advance? We are however to conceive no such cause in the case of this gentleman; for *non vult Episcopari*. I say, and I acknowledge that whoever presumes to propose himself to the public for a guide; does certainly and of course intitle them to enquire into the grounds of his conduct for so doing. No man deals about him more freely or more plentifully his hard words than this writer. That *they break through every tie of honour, honesty and conscience; that they forge, lie and falsify** make but a mighty small part of the compliments; which he bestows upon those, with whom he declares himself to be in controversy. He is therefore on a double account the ob-
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* See Address and Appeal, page 86.

ject of that maxim. It has not pleased the Maker of men; that they should absolutely look into the breasts of one another; as they do into a book: but if it was not for a seeming disclaim, the sincerity of which I do not question; I should shrewdly suspect myself to see in the writings of this gentleman the very strongest, outward signs of seeking preferment. There are various and different ways of doing this; but perhaps few surer or better for the purpose, than pamphleteering after a proper manner. I wish however this gentleman sincerely and heartily a Bishoprick, whatever he may do for himself; if the opinion promoted by him shall prove true of the little importance of North-America to Great-Britain. God is my Judge; that I seek only truth and the good of my country. It is nevertheless to be earnestly hoped; that a proper period and a due time may be taken for the experiment and that neither he nor any man will in the face of a distracted public wear a mitre; as the reward of his having contributed to their confusion. But this gentleman is not satisfied with one civil war in America: he beats the drum

drum for another in Ireland. He proposes to unite likewise that island under the Parliament of Great-Britain; which he says *has long been the ardent wish of every true patriot of both nations.** We shall then have all the Irish, as we have now all the American throats to cut. I will for one however venture to advise; that we first finish our present, before we begin upon such another business. Does the gentleman mean there likewise to recommend his nostrum of casting them off; if they shall after the same manner prove stubborn and backward upon the experiment? They have rich bishopricks in that country; however stupid the Americans may have been in putting by such an establishment; when it has been pressed upon them. I dare say that no ecclesiastical pique or spirit on any account of that kind ever makes a part of the present subject; but surely all men of every or of no profession must wish us well to reflect; before that we fling away our inestimable possession of Ireland after North-America already gone by the very means proposed for the other. What could induce any man

* See ditto, page 42.

man in his senses to found at this instant an alarm likewise for that island and to threaten them there with the attempt of a British taxation in their turn? Is not this doing the work of the Americans with a witness? It certainly could not be intended to flatter the views of some men in the most remote recesses of their minds or to make a merit of avowing an extravagance beyond what our ministers have hitherto publicly at least appeared to design or to desire upon their own principles. This would indeed be bidding high for advancement; could it be the meaning: but whatever may be the motive; it becomes in so great a crisis, a good and a faithful Englishman not to scruple saying; that this writer seems in fact most wantonly to play with the safety and the welfare of his country.

Some gross accounts of our exports to America, to Holland and to Germany are by the same person produced out of the Custom-House books and comparisons made upon them. I will not enter into that subject: I will say nothing about the authority of these books nor how considerable or how improving our North-American

American trade was according to those accounts themselves: it would not pay the pains. We ought for the purpose of forming by such a means any proper opinion concerning the value of our late connection with that country to have before us all the true particulars of every thing really brought in and carried out between us in any way and on whatsoever account. There would then be seen, what might perhaps amaze some men; but which will infallibly be found by the effects. Our North-American trade was undoubtedly both most important in itself and likewise complicated with a great part of our whole commerce. We see what has by its failure already happened with regard to the African; but which must in those books be entered under its own head and not that of America. This single instance fully proves the fallacy of all such confined observations and reasoning. Our Colonies and Great-Britain however are to be compared in a very different manner besides; as dependencies on one hand and as the seat of empire on the other. All the treasure, all the gold and the silver however procured, all the spare produce of that vast continent came on this account

count to us and centered here. So likewise would it in great measure have done had it been ten times as much and whether or no one word was written about it in a book. What mines of money have by the same means our West-India islands been to us? But go and consult the Custom-House books on the subject and the balance of trade with them will of course and from that very circumstance there appear against us. I wonder what book contains an account of the prodigious profit received by us every year from Ireland. I cannot likewise help observing here; that the same reasoning holds good with regard to England and to Scotland; where however no book is kept and of which there does not always seem to be the justest sense; but men are eagle-eyed to their personal and absolutely blind to their general interests. No small share of the substance of these countries is by our dominion and our government drawn hither: the less that they receive from us in return, the clearer are our gains and the more remains with us to send and to sell to others. When this gentleman comes to consider the advantage of our imports from North-America; he admits only of two heads; *Raw materials*
of

*of manufactures and taxable objects.** This seems very strange. Suppose Corn, a commodity not taxed, sent from thence hither to the amount of a million of money, the produce of which is without return or exchange to discharge the demands of government, of absentees &c. is this nothing nor worth the reckoning? He seems to object to rice being a taxable object. He says, it ought not to be taxed. Suppose then neither that nor tobacco to be so; but remitted hither for the end and in the manner before mentioned: suppose them however to be purchased at the fountain head of our plantations with our manufactures; instead of being paid for at foreign markets with our money: suppose again neither the one or the other; but that they were only a profit to our merchants and an employment to our seamen by being imported and exported. Would they in all or in any of these cases be of no consideration? I will not dwell on this subject: but it seems to me that the gentleman himself must on further reflection see the deficiency of his own argument. There are indeed persons, who appear to think the rest and the bulk of mankind

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* See Humble Address pag. 54.

made only to be taxed; but that cannot here be the case. These custom-house books however having thus come in my way, I desire to be indulged in throwing out an ænigma concerning them; which I shall not stay to explain, but the meaning of which I trust myself well to understand. The best measure possible to pursue with respect to them would perhaps be; if the Legislature was pleased to command them all to be burnt in one common pile and never to be again begun. What a noble sacrifice and offering would that be upon the altar of commerce! It would be a flame of a very different kind from that, which is now kindled between Britain and America. Our merchants might perhaps take no great pains to extinguish it. That point however lies out of my present road.

But we are told; that if we ransack history, records, statutes, books and writings, we may muster strange charges against these Americans. They sometimes winched and flinched under government, at other times they smuggled and contrabanded in trade. These are truly mighty matters. Were not they upon the whole most obedient subjects in peace? It was as rare to find a rebel as a phœ-

a phoenix among them. Were they not zealous allies in war? It is but between ten and twenty years, since they helped us to subdue no small portion of the globe. Did not we to a great degree direct their trade? We have received from them mines of riches by that means. What real wrong did they ever once offer us? They planted themselves at their own expence and are nevertheless known and acknowledged among mankind for the most noble and most beneficial colonies ever subject to any nation. Why should we then trouble ourselves about trifles or make mountains of mole-hills; when the whole went so very well? Do we expect, that nature should to content our humours have made millions of men without the passions and the sensations common to our species or are we ourselves exempt from these at home? Such things, it may be said, betrayed however a lurking and a latent fire; which might one day flame forth. But I ask when and how, in what manner or at what distance? Any such pretence is as to the present time totally groundless, contradictory both to the fact and to our own conduct. If a spirit of rebellion or of sedition was spread and
 rise

rife throughout our provinces; how came our cunning men with all their lights to be ignorant of it or knowing that a number of barrels of gunpowder were ready heaped up and prepared; did they themselves with their own hands lay the trains and put the match to them? This would have been full as absurd in action; as their friend's paradox is in reason. The truth is; that instead of owning and of amending our errors; now that they are become so plain, as to be perceived both by ourselves and by the whole world; some of us seek or encourage others to seek these poor, paltry, contemptible subterfuges; as a colour or an excuse for our crying injustice and ingratitude with regard to the Americans and our most wretched and ruinous conduct with respect to our country at home.

But Methodism has entered the lists against liberty and against property. We are from that quarter told; that it is only a few deep, secret, covert, English Republicans; who have raised up this civil war in America and who oppose all measures of reconciliation. These Republicans therefore passed or executed the acts relating

relating to the stamps, the tea, the port of Boston, the charter and the government of Massachusetts-bay, the fisheries and the commerce of America: they sent an army to that country last year and they doubled it this together with fleets, artillery and all fit means of mischief to attend it: they rejected, refused or neglected all applications and petitions for peace from New-York, from the continental congress, from the city of London, from various parts of America and of Britain; as likewise the propositions of Lord Ch., of Mr. B. and of other persons for the same purpose. One part of these measures have been the certain causes of our civil war and the other part the opposition to reconciliation. Is it the same Republicans, who have garrisoned Gibraltar and Minorca with Hanoverians and who have published a Crusado calling all men and all nations to the destruction and the plunder of our colonies and who are to transport them thither for that pious and that beneficial purpose? I am tired with reckoning; but how horrible a list it is and what wicked men must these Republicans be! These few, covert Republicans must surely have been very crafty so to have

have baffled and to have over-reached our many ostensible ministers; who being able to act openly and avowedly have no doubt, good men, taken ten times the pains to keep things right; that these abominable Republicans have to put them wrong. How unlucky is it; that either our ministers were not as cunning as these Republicans or these Republicans as honest as our ministers: in either of which cases we and our colonies might have continued towards one another in the same state, as we were three or four years ago; peaceable, contented and quiet! I cannot however but congratulate mankind; that there were not more of these Republicans: these very few have, it seems, flung into confusion one of the first states in the world and, it is to be hoped, as wisely governed; as it is high in other regards—*Si duo præterea tales*—If there had been a dozen more such and especially if they durst have proceeded by daylight, what part of Europe might have escaped? Republics do not rise or spring up like mushrooms; but who knows, whether they might not have been, as thick, as islands in the Archipelago? An European could then have hardly gone to
Court

Court for Republics. There would have been no King's Chaplains---*Dii meliora piis*---I wonder, what the King of Cochin-China would have thought concerning such a condition of our quarter of the earth; who, a Dutch traveller tells us, had like to have choaked himself with laughing only on hearing; that there was a people in Holland, who lived without a King. This Reverend Gentleman tells us in his Calm Address; that these Republicans are endeavouring to divide our colonies from us in order to bring about by that means their favourite scheme of a commonwealth in England: another charges upon them in his Humble Address; that they are endeavouring to keep us and our colonies together for the very same evil end. This argument is then a two-edged sword with a witness; which cuts the republican fingers both ways. I don't know; whether I may not compare it to Scylla and to Charibdis: that if a poor Republican happens to escape the one; he is sure to be swallowed or to be devoured by the other. I don't pretend to reconcile these two Reverend Gentlemen: unless we may suppose; that it is
possibly

possibly some honest, moderate, well-meaning men, whom they both concur to abuse, but in this most contradictory manner; men who desire nothing but the peace and who heartily abhor on any account whatsoever the very idea of the distraction and the confusion of their country, who never entertained for a moment the least intention towards an English or a British commonwealth in their lives and whom these Gentlemen make so bold to charge only from their love of the public and at the most perhaps some distant, speculative, Utopian opinions, which are many and various among mankind. The same Apostle in Politics, as well as in Religion, singles out Venice, Genoa and Holland, as three the most despotic states under heaven. It is a pity, that he did not likewise favour us with his patterns of the freest: it is to be presumed; that they would have been Prussia, Russia and Turkey. Hypocrite, Bigot or Enthusiast or a composition of these three characters, do you in your dotage likewise long after the flesh-pots of Egypt or are you afraid; lest that the light of reason and of liberty should banish your cant and your jargon out of America? Be satisfied

satisfied with puzzling or with misleading yourself and your followers about free-will, grace, spirit and other such subjects comprehended neither by you nor by them nor perhaps by any body else: you cannot at the bottom but be sensible; that truth and reason will not afford grounds whereon to persuade a great people; that they have nothing belonging to them of their own: other means must be employed for that purpose; to which however you are willing to become a trumpeter. All government whatsoever is founded in consent or in force: all lawful government is so in consent; from which alone can arise any obligation to obedience. They who scorn to require on their side consent; necessarily leave against them the right of resistance. Where club-law is the practice of the Sovereign; the same code is of course open for the use of the subjects; when they can execute it. Slavery depends upon the will and the pleasure of the master; but liberty and property rest in the concurrence of the governed. You tell us; that the Americans and their ancestors had a right to be taxed by the Parliament of England; but that they never had any other. I say; that they had a right

right to liberty and to property, to the substance and not to the shadow, to the matter and not to the form only: they enjoyed these by our parliament; when this was the proper method for that purpose: but since it has ceased to be such; they still retain their right to those inestimable blessings to be enjoyed by such means and in such manner; as their new circumstances and condition do best admit. But you and many more in England, you say, have no votes for Members of Parliament and where is the difference between such persons and the Americans? Let me try to tell you; if you do not already know. You are exactly in the same situation, with those who have votes; law for law, tax for tax, benefit for benefit, burthen for burthen. These cannot preserve or profit themselves without doing precisely the same by you; they cannot enslave or impoverish you without suffering the like fate and fortune themselves. The Americans are under very different and in some respects contrary circumstances. They are absolutely with regard to this great point of taxation in the opposite scale. Every single shilling levied on an American weighs on the British side and

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saves just the same sum to the persons imposing it upon him or to those chusing such, as do so. This argument is hourly hackneyed in our ears; but how few words afford it an answer in appearance beyond reply? You tell us; that it will be no harm for America, if it is taxed like Scotland. I answer, that Great-Britain now raises for the year at three shillings in the pound upon the land about eleven millions sterling; the collection included. Scotland is favoured in the two taxes of the land and the malt; that is in two millions and a quarter of this sum; but with respect to the remaining eight millions and three quarters the North-Briton pays alike and exactly, as the South. This is your pattern for a people; who now plainly appear to have neither gold nor silver among them and whose commerce is confined by ourselves. I think; that you can hardly be acquainted with the meaning and the extent of your own words on this subject. You mention Ireland, as another example for America. That seems as strange as the other. Could it miss your memory; that Ireland is actually taxed by their own representatives in the very manner; which the Americans desire? Every man,

man, you say, may sit under his own vine and his own fig-tree. But how can that or to what purpose will it be; when another may come and cut it down or take the fruit of it at his pleasure?---But that has not been so hitherto---no nor this taxation. Past parliaments have undone our country at home by taxing: what ground then can there be to imagine; that those to come would not do as much by America? You may quibble and chicanery, as long as you will; but you had need to pull down the pillars of nature; before you can overturn the great principles of liberty and of property. You are said to have strangely contradicted yourself on this subject; but I little trouble myself about that: you contradict the clearest reason; after which you may for me make as free with yourself besides as you please. Your conduct however does in one respect a credit to this people; if that the charge of fanaticism often laid upon them by their adversaries; was as well founded, as is sometimes pretended; they would hardly have had you for an enemy. You remind us of the great rule to fear God and to honour the King: when all will be well; but no other way. I say, reverence God; fear to offend

offend his laws; love him, as far as our poor and our weak faculties can lift themselves up towards his incomprehensible nature: honour the King, when he is a good one; think deservedly of him when he is otherwise. Trust constantly to the truth; never wilfully be deceived yourself nor deceive others. A good King is truly a great blessing of Heaven; the contrary is a scourge and a judgement. Plagues, pestilence and famine are the bites of a fly in comparison of a bad prince; as the state of mankind and the history of the world will well instruct us. Let us not affect to couple together two Beings infinitely distant from each other, infinitely more distant than the vaulted sky sometimes called Heaven is from our earth; I say, to couple them with an affectation of equality or perhaps with some preference of the mortal to the eternal: since to be honoured is certainly before being feared. Methodist, methodist, do not you with all your pretences of piety about you compliment your King at the expence of your God; however covertly or indirectly. I hope to see no Methodist on the throne of England: it might be a sad presage. Three of our princes have particularly given into superstition

perdition and their reigns have in a singular manner been marked with misfortunes. Let us on all occasions seek and pursue the happiness of mankind. That is the real rule given by God to all men and all nations: it is plain to every apprehension: it is more or less within the power of every one to perform and he is the worst of impostors; who perverts to any other purpose our most benevolent religion. Why did not you endeavour to induce the governors of our country to cast the weapons out of their hands; where peace has ever stuck from the beginning and where it yet sticks; if that they have not themselves made it too late? Why did you not set forth the present starving, wretched condition of the poorer people of England? Is this no grievance or does it according to your general pretence not subsist or is it no consequence of national measures or is it an improper subject in this American dispute or are you unacquainted with it? You can tell it loudly enough, when you are talking to the lower rank themselves; but so do you likewise know how to whisper it; when you speak for some others to hear and for whose ears your address was in all appearance intended

tended and not for those of the Americans to whom it is for form sake subscribed. Your zeal is now not without knowledge; whatever it may be at some other times.

It is sometimes said in defence of the minister, that the present measures are not according to his own opinion or inclination; but that they are imposed upon him from another quarter. No such discourse deserves a moment's delay or attention. If the nation is undone, what does it matter by whose means? Whether any one hurried and blinded by his own passions strikes with a bold and a desperate hand his dagger into the heart of his country or whether he consents to be made the cool and the abandoned instrument of another in the doing of it; either the one or the other crime is of such a magnitude; that the whole world is hardly capable to hold a balance wherein to weigh it. I do not doubt; but that many a man has in different stations concurred on this occasion with a most unwilling mind: the few at the helm, however have from the beginning to the present instant carried on all the process

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of these miserable measures so roundly, so readily, so earnestly, so violently and with so little appearance of backwardness or of scrupulousness; that their willingness towards the work and not the contrary appears the only wonder to be accounted for. It hurts me to take notice; that a cast and colour of cruelty seem to dye the whole of these proceedings. But the attempt to starve the inhabitants of our colonies by prohibiting the importation of provisions; which is waging war with the poor and the helpless, with women and children, on whom only such a measure must fall: the design of exciting, of arming and of leading against our countrymen nations of savage Indians; who do not in their hostilities act like men, but who seek with a horrible barbarity to imbrue their hands in the blood of that defenceless sex and their harmless little ones: the endeavours to debauch slaves for the purpose of destroying and of butchering their masters: the sending armies of strangers and of barbarians to waste with fire and with sword that country; which was within these three years subject to us and which we pretend

tend to desire and to expect should be so again : the wanton destruction of towns and of dwellings and, I hope, that I may not join the unbecoming treatment of brave men under the pretence of their being rebels: the general hardness and ingratitude of doing these things and much more to a people; who ever bore us the most sincere and the warmest affection and from whom we have received unspeakable benefit; must, I say, surely move every one, whose nature has in it any mixture of the milk of humanity. Cruelty has hitherto been never charged upon us, as a nation: do not let that likewise be now thrown into our measure; as if it was on this occasion not sufficiently heaped up and full without any such addition,

Our administration however, we are told, has been deceived. That matter will not be disputed with them; but if any one neither knows of himself how to chuse fit measures nor to consult proper persons upon the subject of them nor to adopt them; when they are pointed out and pressed upon him by those, whom he

does not consult ; for the love of heaven what has he to do at the head of a state? Can such a person possibly find no other way of spending his time? If any thing can add to the enormity of the present proceedings themselves ; it is the headlong manner in which they have against so much advice and admonition and from so many quarters both at home and abroad been pressed and pursued. It was not particularly pointed out ; that Lexington would be the beginning of blood or Bunker's-Hill the field of battle : the names of Putnam and of Washington were not written down ; but I cannot recollect so much as one single material circumstance, which has taken place and of which our rulers were not fairly and timely forewarned. Every step might readily be reckoned up ; if it was not too stale and too well known a story to be now repeated. Have not we fought and bought and paid for deception? Was not it publicly understood to be the high road of preferment for our governors to flatter our power and our measures and to make mischief between us and our colonies? When we had thus purchased misinformation and evil counsel were we not
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our own dupes and did we not greedily swallow and believe, what we had ourselves so procured with our money? Why is however not some small satisfaction at least given on this subject? Why are such wretched advisers, the ill-fated instruments of this most ruinous civil war, suffered to continue crawling about our councils or feeding upon the blood of the public? But wherefore do we talk of the counsels or the information of men; when Providence, fate, events themselves have in the strongest manner admonished and discouraged the authors of these misfortunes; but with no more effect, than if such circumstances had only concerned the state of affairs and some squabble in China or in Japan. There is not a deafener upon earth than a minister of state; when you would charm his passions, his pride, his ambition or his avarice: but Heaven have pity upon that poor people; whose adder is blind, as well as deaf; who will neither hear the clearest reason nor can see the plainest facts, when they stare him the most fully in the face. It now rains addresses; as some people say, that frogs drop from the clouds. To address is understood to be the means of finding fa-

your at court and in the cabinet. These addresses set forth the flourishing state of the kingdom, of our commerce and our manufactures and how little the war and the revolt of America are yet felt. Men may put their confidence in this fine account; who have a mind and are determined to be deceived: but our ministers surely cannot be such children, such chickens, such innocents as not to be sensible, that there has hitherto been no time for a full and a fair trial of the effect. While our colonies kept paying their debts and sending plentifully of their own produce to us and took from us little or nothing of ours: what must be the wisdom of those statesmen or of any other persons; who could fancy that to be the period, in which we were likely to feel their loss? If the importation from thence into Britain stopped on the Monday, did any one dream; that our government would be bankrupt or our people all be starved or our country be in distraction on the Tuesday? The proverb says, that opportunity flies apace; but such great events and the fate of nations demand time and maturity. The fact nevertheless does already begin as much to shew and to develop itself;

self; as could in so short a space have been feared or expected. Manchester and some few other of our manufacturing places may perhaps maintain their former ground; but it is too sure a truth, that the body of our poorer and our lower people, our labourers, our handicraftsmen and our manufacturers themselves are in general throughout the nation now sunk and reduced to a degree never experienced before among us. What a material, what a melancholy circumstance and consideration! This our ministers might know without stirring out of their own faction for information. How can then some men read or hear without blushing those pretty compositions of their own procuring or encouraging? Come our misfortunes infallibly will and but too fast, if we continue our actual course; when court-adulation, addresses and flattery will little avail to defend us from them. Would to God, that some men would have more patience on the subject and not so hasten them upon us; merely because they are not here at this moment! They will not come like a flash of lightning; but let me add, neither will they so pass away. When we produce ourselves the causes, do we stand

staring and enquiring; whether it is to be expected, that the effects will follow? What sort of an husbandman must he be; who having with his own hand sown the seed should doubt; whether he was in due time to reap the fruits and the harvest of it, or who made a wonder; that his corn was not in the ear and the grain at Christmas? Our ministers have immoveably fixed their eyes on one favourite point, the absolute subjection of America; they will believe in the most absurd proposition, opinion or plan; which appears to lead or to contribute to it; but they seem neither to see or to hear or to understand any one object in the whole world lying out of that line. Deceived no doubt we have been and most grossly and most grievously. But by what means? Our own passions have imposed upon us; our contempt of the persons, our aversion to the liberty and our rapaciousness after the property of others. These are the counsellors which have mislead us and what is worse; we yet continue to be advised and to be directed by them: we have no more discharged or discarded these, than we have done B. and H.

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Can it then be conceived, says some one, that a number of unreasonable and of ill-judging men should at one time be all so oddly jumbled together at the head of any state or government? The chance would have been much against such an unlucky combination; if that its inhabitants had in common drawn lots or cast the die on the occasion. The present times must speak for themselves: I shall answer nothing as to them. I may however endeavour to explain; how things have heretofore come to pass and posterity will be more fortunate than their fore-fathers; if they shall never happen again after the same manner. A Prince often empowers some particular person to chuse or to controul all the other counsellors and officers of his kingdom. Such a one will probably pick them out according to his own pattern or expect them to conform to it; when the difficult and the disobedient will of course be discarded the company. It is an old saying; that all life is a stage play: but where a first minister rules every thing, the comparison may perhaps rise no higher than to the humble representation of a puppet-show

pet-show: in which however the figures may strut, stare or look big upon the outward stage and whether they act tragedy, comedy or farce; they dance and they speak and they squeak, only as their master behind the scenes moves the springs and the strings and the wires.

I desire however to say something upon the subject of such a first or prime minister. I have used the expression after others: but it is not the language of the constitution. We are not a race of Turkish slaves to be governed by a Grand Vizir nor is our nation a province of France, where the practice and the abuse of many ages have accustomed the Monarch to delegate his power and his authority to a substitute. I do not know how to persuade myself; that a Prince reigning in a land of liberty can be intitled or warranted to deliver over his people into the hands of any single subject. A Parliament, I say, a free Parliament, a Parliament elected and acting without corruption is by our constitution appointed for the chief council of the King of England and not some one minister, flatterer or favourite. Our common people are apt to complain; that
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their betters sometimes ape the modes of a neighbouring nation: but if this of a first minister is a French fashion, any one may be bold to say; that it is the worst custom ever copied by us from that people. The political habits of that country are of late however much changed. The writer is not a very old man and he remembers when the Parliaments of Paris were a bye-word for their meanness and their abjectness towards their Prince. That matter however is now totally altered. I wonder what Parliaments will in time to come be the proverb for complaisance and ductility. The French have learnt a firmness and a steadiness and to look in case of exigency their King and his minister in the face. This is affirmed to have been formerly a good old English fashion. When will our travelled gentry bring it with them back again to their own country? I trust; that I may answer, as soon as reason and occasion shall require: although the happiness of the times may not now demand any such present practice. How would it otherwise appear in the eyes of posterity; should the abject slaves of a prime minister be the despotic masters of North-America?

America? *Non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur*—I am perfectly persuaded, that two such directly contradictory circumstances will never happen or be united in one and the same body of men.

There is a circumstance, (which however contemptible in itself,) I do not know how to pass over in silence; as it lies in my way and as it explains the temper of some men. The ministerial writers have on this occasion already begun to cry out for forfeitures and against noxious and erroneous clemency.* Can then the imagination and the ambition of our philosophers carry them across the Atlantic in hopes of farms and of plantations there for themselves or do these things tempt their patrons and their paymasters; in whose praises and for whose pleasure they tune their lyres? Some English historians tell us, I will not warrant how truly; that the French played before the battle of Agincourt at dice for their

* Taxation no Tyranny, p. 87.—Nothing can be more noxious to society, than that erroneous clemency; which when a rebellion is suppressed exacts no forfeitures and establishes no securities, but leaves the rebels in their former state.

their prisoners; but who were neither then taken nor ever afterwards. We read of armies; that have brought along with them chains to bind their enemies: by whom they have themselves been soundly beaten for their pains. The learning of these authors might at least have furnished them with the fable; whose moral admonishes us not to be over-forward to divide the bear-skin, until we have first mastered the bear. What is this but warning the Colonies to hold out to the utmost and in case of necessity to seek foreign assistance; rather than to forfeit their estates to persons at home: whose fancy seems so forward to give them livery and seisin on the occasion. It may perhaps be a problem not unworthy the solution of these ingenious gentlemen themselves; whether the policy or the humanity of this proceeding the most deserves to be approved of and to be commended.

I have formerly touched upon Ireland. They have not there our debt: they have a different government and they are by the sea separated from us. They may possibly swim, when we sink; but
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that must depend upon the utmost uncertainty of chance. They are a people most singularly and peculiarly circumstanced among themselves and with respect to one another; more so, than I will endeavour to explain nor which is necessary, it being well known and understood. History can hardly trace; when they were combined under one head or had any form of civil society of their own. Their present government originated many centuries ago from England; where its connection and its dependance have ever since continued. If the guiding reins should through weakness or through disorder drop out of our hands; they cannot but run the most dangerous risque of falling under the command of some foreign nation or of their state being totally turned up-side-down or of both mischances. Those persons then must surely be doubly possessed; who having a stake in each of these islands have nevertheless pressed and urged the present proceedings. I think, that such men must by this time begin to grow sick of their own work: in which case it is undoubtedly their highest duty to retract or to soften, what they have said and to the best of their power to repair and to amend

amend what they have done. There is however another part of our country; which if I have before approached on this side, it was yet in a more distant manner and whose condition is in almost every respect directly contrary to that of Ireland; I mean, Scotland. They are of one island with us; but they had for many ages within themselves their Kings, their Lords, their Commons, their Parliaments, their Courts and their Officers of Justice, their Laws and every other circumstance of a perfect, compleat, separate government. They have made with us many a war and many a peace; they had an ally, who did not use to fail them in time of their need and to whom they were themselves according to the conjuncture of that period faithful in return. It has not been two centuries; since that we first had the same prince nor one since we have had the same legislature. This last union was the act of the Scottish not people, but parliament: were it to-morrow to be voted there by every man of twenty-one years of age; he is ill-informed; who believes, that it would not be dissolved by a very great majority. They are a people perhaps, as much and as remarkably united
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among themselves as they of Ireland are divided. What should then hinder; but that they may in the case of an utter dissolution or distraction of our government cut all the ties, the links, the chains, which now hold and fasten us together; I say, that they may leave England to sink alone into a bottomless abyss with a debt of a hundred and forty millions of pounds sterling, hanging like a mill-stone about its neck? I shall not here be misunderstood, as if I was meaning any reflection upon a people; to whom I have from my youth up ever borne respect. I am most sensible of many and great advantages received by England from the union with Scotland. If they have no more gold and silver in North-Britain it is, because that their nobility and their gentry prodigal them away after their pleasures and their ambition in the South. They people us in the mean time with men, as good as ourselves; as even our maidens and our widows seem sometimes to bear witness. I verily believe them to have no more idea of a present division from us; than of a separation from the sun or the moon. I am in my own mind fully satisfied; that the Americans entertained

tained five years past no such intentions; whatever pretences the authors of these mischiefs may in defence of themselves and of their miserable measures now invent or propagate. It is my particular persuasion; that no people reasonably happy will for the sake of distant and of uncertain fancies ever break or disturb their real and their actual felicity. I speak on a supposition therefore of a sincere and an absolute necessity; to which the proudest must bend and which the most powerful must obey. They may perhaps be then more willing to allow of its law in their own case; than they seem to be now in that of some others. When their only alternative left shall be to perish with their neighbours or to preserve themselves without them; they may conceive, that there is but little either of casuistry or of policy required to resolve the question. Why is such a possibility much more distant or different from the state; in which we now are: than our present situation is from that; in which we were at this time five years? I refer to five years ago, as to a former period; before that these troubles broke out: our active governors however have in fact employed but about two revolving

suns in performing the first half of their work. They truly have in a short space of time destroyed the temple of peace; but their wonders seem to be of a very different sort from building up again with the same haste. I press the rather these points in hopes of bringing certain persons to some sense of the circumstances about them, of inducing them to consider on what ground they stand, of making them reflect; that it is not every man, whom they meet in the streets or whom they converse or they consult with; whose fortunes and whose affairs are on this subject in the same bottom with their own. There are who may get and may gain; who may lose one half and may hold the other; who may suffer much and may nevertheless save a remnant: but they, to whom I would at this moment particularly apply myself, have no stake but in one spot, have their all in one vessel or, to speak a plain language, in England. I am fully persuaded; that there are some persons, whom it most behoves and most concerns; but who are even yet not aware upon what an adventure they have embarked themselves, their families, their country and their King.

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What then are we in this difficult state of our affairs most to wish and to desire; the victory of administration and the devastation of America or the superiority and the liberty and consequently to us the loss of our colonies? This may not be the easiest of questions to answer. He was a wise man; who prayed his God to send him, what he knew in his wisdom to be good for him; although he did himself not desire it: but to keep from him, what was evil; although he did desire it. Should Providence for our penalty and our punishment suffer us to destroy our colonies; we shall bite the dust together and France and Spain and perhaps lesser people besides take the spoils of both. Many men and some nations would commiserate America: they would recollect her former affection, attachment and services to us; although we forget them. Great-Britain would perish unpitied and unlamented: our fall would be attributed to ingratitude and to injustice united with folly and with phrenzy. This however does not appear to be the probable train of future events: we seem on the contrary to be by force driving our Colonies into independance and into greatness. The common

course of history has hitherto been ; that little scattered sparks of liberty have fallen, as it were, from Heaven on particular spots ; by virtue of which some states small at the beginning have wonderfully spread abroad their name and their power among mankind. It was never before known in the civilized world ; that this holy flame blazed brightly and inspired with an equal ardour every part throughout a great and a most extensive continent. The effects of this phenomenon in politics are yet to be experienced. Athens is well understood to have been a democracy managed in great measure by its citizens in their collective capacity and it shone ; as a light among nations. Rome was likewise a republic ; but chiefly conducted by an elected senate nor need it to be said ; how it over-shadowed the world. These were however single cities ; within whose walls were confined their governments and their elections. There have hitherto been among men no instances of large, numerous and civilized nations ; where the whole people ruled themselves without a monarch by the means of representative bodies appointed fairly, equally and frequently for that purpose.

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This will probably be one day a new form of government and an improvement in democratical constitutions. It seems peculiarly well adapted to promote the interests and the happiness; as well as to unite the inclinations and the opinions of all its members: it admits by an equal election and a real representation every man to a just share in the management and the administration of the whole. Perfection is not to be expected in the affairs of men nor will I now enquire; how far this may or may not within its province approach to it or partake of it. Holland copies in some measure this pattern by extensive aristocracies and is in comparison of its territory the first country on the globe for trade, for opulence and for numbers of inhabitants: the Swifs come yet more nearly to it; although nevertheless still at a considerable distance: these want the sea, the scene of commerce and the source of riches; they are however a happy people. It is perhaps reserved for our American Colonies to erect the first republics on this plan and who knows; but that they may in consequence thereof together with the other improvements to be expected among mankind arrive one day to

a degree of happiness and of prosperity and may enjoy a stability hitherto unknown and unexperienced in civil governments? Can any one pretend to explain; whether Providence is not in his unfathomable wisdom and by the means of our conduct, however strange and unaccountable upon any plan of human prudence or reason, at this instant raising in America the standard of liberty and preparing a refuge and an asylum for the enslaved and the oppressed of different parts of the earth? The governments there forced and broken off from us will at their command have vast tracts and regions sufficient to receive and to accommodate a good part of Europe; whose domestic oppressions and miseries will not fail to drive them into countries so much freer and so much happier than their own. It is not necessary; that there should be a leader especially commissioned from Heaven or that the waves of the Atlantic ocean should be divided and should stand on an heap for that purpose: the desire of good and the aversion to evil perpetually present in every human breast will be a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to conduct them thither. Are the Ger-
mans

mans at this time ignorant of the chart of that country or do the Irish, the English and the Scotch leaving their taxes and their burthens behind them not crowd already the same road? Were it customary to magnify those; who serve or who aggrandize us with an evil will and against their intentions: some men might perhaps be then celebrated, painted and statued for the fathers and the founders of American Commonwealths; who now bid fair to be only heard of in history, as having ruined and overturned their own monarchy. I speak with the most profound reverence; but I do not believe it to be the ultimate end and purpose of an all-benevolent Providence: that so great a part of the human species should perpetually remain under their present bondage and that civility and slavery shall forever be almost constant companions of each other. Clouds will arise in the political; as well as in the natural world; but so will they likewise pass away or the sunshine of liberty will break forth in other parts. I trust; that the civilized portion of our species is upon the whole notwithstanding some cross and untoward occurrences happening at times and at

places constantly advancing and improving in their freedom. The condition of our earth is undoubtedly new, new in comparison not only of eternity ; but of time. It is but little more than twenty centuries, not more than the successive lives of fifteen such persons as our countryman Parr ; since that the first human history was written. What a span ! Men are but beginning to emerge out of their natural barbarity into national communities and societies : we are as yet perfect novices in the art of framing or of modelling institutions of that sort. Our inward nature must ever remain the same ; the seeds of ambition, of avarice and of the other selfish passions having been sown in our breasts from the first will in all appearance never be rooted out ; but the outward circumstances of things will very much vary. Mankind will in time grow more upon their guard against one another : nations will by degrees learn how to provide more effectual defences and securities against the designs and the attempts, the force and the artifice of those ; to whom they confide their governments and by whom it is, that they are most commonly undone. Letters may do much : they enlighten the world :

world: the present, frequent, increasing, public and private use of them must not only inform and instruct the multitude and the many; but must likewise enable them better to move and to act together for their common interests and concerns; than they formerly did or could without any or with but little of such communication. America is now arming and mustering, almost to a man; we alike catch good and evil of each other. Who knows; but that this may become the practice of nations? On that rock will then be founded the freedom of mankind: This seems to be the means by which despotism must one day receive its mortal blow. A few bearing the sword do ever oppress the helpless public; but how can one man tyrannise over millions of his equals, all of them armed and ready for their own defence? Whatever country desires to maintain its independence against foreign foes and its freedom against domestic ones; let it copy the present conduct of the Americans and keep the whole body of its people armed and mustered: in which case, if I may make bold to use so high an expression, the gates of hell will not be able
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to prevail against its liberty. But what will then become of Great-Britain in these halcyon times of America or of mankind? Who knows whether she may not wish to take shelter under the shadow of states, so lately her own provinces and her own dependencies? Whether our only possible means of escaping the last distresses and calamities incident to a nation may not be; if that they shall protect us from the creditors of our government, from our neighbours, from our rivals and from all others; who may be willing to insult a fallen, an abject and a helpless people: I say; if that their own reason or, I am very sorry to add, the unhappy precedent of Great-Britain shall teach them of what extreme, mutual utility, advantage and assistance two great branches of the same nation may be to one another: when united and connected by consent in their interests; however distant and divided by the ocean in their dwellings. This will indeed be a very different situation from having America at our feet; but we may well be content to turn our backs on that sentence and leave it to be engraven on the monument of him, from

from whom it came. It is surely a most unfit and most unbecoming expression and which all parties should wish to be buried in oblivion; but how different a temper seems to prevail in some men, from that: when schemes are at this moment laid and means are now preparing to waste with fire and with sword and to deluge with blood that continent for the very end of carrying it into execution? Great-Britain however had need both then and at this time to see to her own concerns. Foreign reliance is but a slender reed in the hands of those; who have ruined themselves. That the system of benevolence is a right and a real policy in the conduct of nations and in their government of others; may perhaps be believed by a few philosophers in their closets; be represented by a small number of moralists in their writings; be preached from the pulpit by some one truly worthy to attend at the altars of the Divinity, one happily blending the public spirit of patriotism with the charity of our holy religion: but it is to be feared; that the histories, the examples, the experience of many ages to come are yet required; before that great states
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and empires shall actually and effectually adopt it into their practice. Should these dreams and these visions ever be sooner or later in any degree realized; we shall find and our former provinces will find; that prosperity and superiority readily forget the rules and the resolutions made or approved in adversity and in humility. Our condition however demands instant assistance: the clouds are collected: the storm is about to burst upon our heads: the thunders begin to roll and the lightnings to fly: our ministers are notwithstanding leading us further into the wilderness: it is high time for the collective wisdom of the nation to exert itself and the constitution: peace, peace, peace is the only protection held forth to us by Providence in this great and this dangerous conjuncture.

What methods can we then take towards that desirable end? To which I must answer; that some men affect to talk so harsh a language and seem so fond of every means to dis sever us from our colonies; that I hardly know, whether it is lawful for me to signify my wish: that there was preserved a conjunction, a connection, a
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correspondence between honest and well-intentioned men of England and of America the better to counteract the enemies of both countries and for watching every opening and opportunity to restore the ancient harmony and tranquility between us. It is certainly our true interest instead of prohibiting to encourage in continuing an intercourse with their friends and their families over the Atlantic such persons; as having property and possessions there nevertheless remain with us at this moment out of a sort of affection and of attachment to Great-Britain. These are so many links and chains holding together us and that western continent: they may possibly be one day by prudent and by proper means made of essential service between us; but the same infatuation seems to affect all our measures from the first and the highest to the smallest and the lowest. As to what we are to do more immediately within ourselves; the advisers of war and the hounds of blood lead us the way. Let us follow their footsteps, pursue their paths, but for the contrary purpose; for the preserving this great empire, which their endeavours tend to confound and to destroy. One body of men have since the Revolution chiefly had possession

possession of our government: they sapped by corruption all the outworks of the constitution: liberty was perpetually in their mouths and their discourse; but prostitution was in their hearts and their actions. The wind has lately veered and another set have since succeeded to the helm. These are now endeavouring to make up for the time past by outdoing their predecessors: they are flinging down the fences, which the others had undermined to their hands: they have revived the principles of slavery and have added them to an increase of the same detestable pecuniary influence. Both these were however only two venal factions; who perverted in their turns the sacred name of government to their own corruption: the public continued in the mean time an helpless prey without power between them. But endeavours are now using to involve the nation itself and to make them consenting and concurring to their own ruin. What will then remain; except that we shall be totally ripe and ready for destruction with none left among us to lift up their hands towards heaven and to ask even, how they have deserved it? Such are thy ways, O Providence, while men are disputing;

disputing; whether it is thy most wise and most just laws or their own folly, phrensy and tyranny, which do and which ought to govern the world!

Let us however hope for some happier issue. The vast powers of the crown and the very free use of them considered, where is the wonder; if a few thousands of men are subscribing of papers to please and to flatter an administration? What proportion or what comparison do these bear to the whole body of the kingdom; who most undoubtedly and most ardently desire an end of this worst of all wars and these most ruinous of all measures? It is our silence and our acquiescence, which make us accessaries to the guilt of those; who are going to give the last stroke to our country. God and men require of every people to restrain within due bounds their own rulers. Governments direct under the appointment and the authority of the people; but the people act and execute with their own hands: the people man the navies and compose the armies; which carry fire and sword, devastation and desolation over the earth: the people are the immediate instruments in mischief

mischief and so are they likewise the main victims of it: the calamities consequent to a public misconduct ever fall chiefly and most heavily upon their body. What are the misfortunes of a few men or a few families suffering their portion of the evils caused by their own counsels in comparison of the general distress and misery of a whole people; although I do not at all mean; that even the others commonly do or that they will on this occasion in particular escape a share of such mischiefs fully sufficient to make likewise them earnestly to repent of their part in the production of them? Why are then so few found who set their hands to the saving of their country; when so many are signing to their ruin? If we approach with petitions the Royal presence; the cry of the public could not but start and drive away any one, who lurks behind the throne and who poisons with evil counsels the ear of our Prince and if that there is such a person. If we presume to apply to our Parliament; that powerful body is able to bind certain madmen in the chains of the constitution and to make them conduct themselves at least with less danger and less damage to the public: whether
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no they will ever be turned into very deep politicians or very disinterested patriots. What witholds then, the cool and the considerate and (I am perfectly perswaded) by much the major part of the nation, the friends and the favourers of peace from offering in their turn to our King and to the other branches of our legislature humble; but general and earnest petitions for the purpose of saving the whole, of saving even those who are endeavouring to destroy both the rest and themselves? These are the proper prayers for drawing down once again the dove of Heaven among us; but which due means if we neglect, we shall no more deserve her happy presence; than we did, when she was of late so rashly and so fatally and no one knows why driven away from this empire.

On what conditions then can peace be made? In answer to which I must in my turn ask; how vain is it for individuals to be proposing plans on that subject in opposition to the obstinacy of those; who possess all the power of the nation and who appear plainly to have no such intentions? The door of that blessed Temple would readily have been thrown open to

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us ; if we had ever signified any sincere desire of entering into it : but nothing of that sort has from the beginning of these broils to the present moment come from our ministers, nothing but a constant demand of an absolute subjection on the part of the Colonies ; however some men at a distance from our counsels may at times have deceived themselves on this head. As to that crude, indigested, perplexed, obscure parcel of words complimented by some with the title of a conciliatory plan ; it appears proper only to expose the poor conceptions of its authors and how very far these were from having any ideas fit for the composing our present most high and most unhappy troubles. It met accordingly with nothing, but contempt in the country ; which it concerned. It seems to have fastened and to have riveted to the general union the colony of New-York ; which it was in all appearance particularly intended to divide and to separate from the rest and which was supposed to be at that time wavering and doubtful. It could not but operate in the like manner with our other Colonies ; as it plainly betrayed how little was to be expected towards peace from
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the quarter of administration. The same case still continues. The Continental Congress sent by Mr. Penn their last address and application. It is publicly understood, that they will on the news of its being neglected take some very vigorous steps towards independence. We are in the mean time purposely suffering the present most precious season to elapse and to pass by without moving hand or foot towards an accommodation. We declare; that we will have nothing to do with the bodies particularly delegated by the Americans and in whom they especially confide. We talk of treating only at the point of the sword. We affect to make a mystery of our terms. No hints are flung out of consenting to recall on any conditions whatsoever the act altering the charter of Massachusetts-Bay or of giving security and satisfaction to our Colonies in general concerning the boundaries or other grievances of the Quebec-bill; without which points it is not to be expected, that a single man in America will lay down his arms. What does all this mean and much more that might be mentioned; but a full determination to march without turning to the right or to the left di-

rectly forwards in our first road ; to try the whole chance and to risque the worst consequences of a civil war ; to stake the all of England on the cast in hopes of bringing America to bend under our absolute power : although there is at the same time no more probability of succeeding in that project, than of obtaining the command of the moon ? Good God in Heaven ; how do some men trifle with the fate of this nation !

But a numerous commission is to be named ; which will do wonders. I will not now inquire after what manner such persons are likely to be received in America ; if they shall refuse to treat with the representatives of the country, when they come there. But my answer is ; that our Colonists must have liberty and property in its substance and its essence nor will they on any other terms be contented : we must consent to pass that point ; if we mean ever to have peace with them more. A child may be the tale-bearer, if such is our real purpose and resolution ; but no commissioners in the world will be equal to the work ; if it is only intended to out-wit them by treaty into
what

what we have in vain endeavoured to force them with the sword ; if our design is at the bottom no deeper or no better than under the colour and the cover of negotiating and by the means of certain English arts of bribing, of corrupting, of holding forth personal or provincial advantages to make some weak attempts for the disjoining and the dividing those ; whom our own acts and our own measures have most strongly united and cemented. What a poor, pitiful, cobweb policy and having in it, full as little strength, as honesty ; are all such methods ? The Americans will in that case baffle or avoid our artifices even with more facility ; than they have restrained and resisted our arms. Our commissioners had much better be content at home than to expose us and themselves beyond the Atlantic ; if such only are to be their errand and their instructions.

It may here be repeated ; let us nevertheless draw nearer to the very terms of reconciliation : but I must again ask ; why do not the proper persons inquire after them at Philadelphia ; where men are met qualified and commissioned to answer any due

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question

question on that subject? The writer can only pretend to point towards the ground; which very many before him have already marked out in vain. We are however taught; that the smallest mite offered with a fit intention will not be refused even of the highest. It becomes no man to be backward at doing his duty towards his country in its last moments. Where will be the great damage of giving a few words to the wind, after numberless others far more worthy than mine gone the same way and on the same occasion? I will therefore not scruple to express at least the wish of one individual and what he believes would in the present case be most for the benefit of Great-Britain and perhaps not very far from the acceptance of the colonies.* We must in the first place recall our fleets, our armies, our martial governors and put an end to all the apparel and appearance of war there. This needs no explanation. We must moreover fully, effectually, perfectly convince all that continent; that we retain not the least intention of ruling them for the future

* This was written before it was known; that the Americans had made themselves masters of any part of Canada.

ture by military means. No peace can be expected for us with America either now or in time to come ; except on that ground. We can after certain events with but an evil grace force our troops upon them under the pretence of protection nor can they with a much better demand them of us, as necessary for their defence. We shall by this means save both our men and our money ; neither of which can we well spare. Let us likewise fling upon them the expences of their own civil governments : let them pay their officers on that establishment more or less and in such manner ; as they please themselves. They cannot then pretend discontent on that head and what is it to us ? Here will be another œconomy. I will give the authority of a ministerial writer ; that these savings will according to a common and current calculation amount to no less than 300,000 pounds a year :* but who would know, at what rate to reckon them ; if the present job was to be taken into the account ? We first run ourselves into

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* Dr. Tucker's Humble Address, p. 83. America drains us for those purposes [to maintain its civil and military establishments] of upwards of 300,000l. annually.

enormous expences for very bad purposes and we then make the matter much worse by unjust and by oppressive means of supplying them. This is one article. The next is ; a compleat, intire, unreserved, unexcepted repeal of all the offensive and obnoxious acts of parliament passed since the present peace, the declaratory bill included. How happy must every Englishman be to see them expunged out of our statute book ! It will be like flinging out of a house the brands, which are setting it on fire. The language to us last year of the Continental Congress was “ place us in the same situation, that we were at the close of the last war and our former harmony will be restored.”* What could we have expected more ; if an angel had descended from heaven and had delivered an olive branch to America ; who had held it forth to Great-Britain ? Are not these the very terms ; which every prudent man would have desired : had we been ourselves to have dictated them ? What planet has been uppermost or how has the moon erred for these three years ? I have here offered my two first articles :
unless

* See their Letter to the People of Great-Britain.

unless we consent to which; we had need to spill almost every drop of blood in America. There remains then one more point. The wounds of that country are now open and bleeding nor will be healed without leaving strong marks and scars. Our desire of a revenue is yet unsatisfied. Suffer the writer here to repeat a former proposition of his own. To open and to enlarge the commerce of our colonies is the true means of our mutual contentment. It is a sure resource to enrich us and the fit salve for their sores: it will be the best act of oblivion to induce a forgetfulness of all past injuries and offences. I mean nothing which shall sow a jealousy or dissention between our dependencies; but a general measure, that they should all be assisted according to the especial occasion and exigencies of each. I will not now dwell on this subject. I have formerly done it more fully.* How very far greater profit and benefit must to our treasury arise from the savings and the means here mentioned; than from all what we could hope to have levied by odious and by vexatious taxes laid upon a country;

* See Considerations, &c. p. 130 & seq.

enormous expences for very bad purposes and we then make the matter much worse by unjust and by oppressive means of supplying them. This is one article. The next is ; a compleat, intire, unreserved, unexcepted repeal of all the offensive and obnoxious acts of parliament passed since the present peace, the declaratory bill included. How happy must every Englishman be to see them expunged out of our statute book ! It will be like flinging out of a house the brands, which are setting it on fire. The language to us last year of the Continental Congress was " place us in the same situation, that we were at the close of the last war and our former harmony will be restored."* What could we have expected more ; if an angel had descended from heaven and had delivered an olive branch to America ; who had held it forth to Great-Britain ? Are not these the very terms ; which every prudent man would have desired : had we been ourselves to have dictated them ? What planet has been uppermost or how has the moon erred for these three years ? I have here offered my two first articles :
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* See Considerations, &c. p. 130 & seq.

country; which now plainly appears to have in the last necessity no gold or silver even for its own use? We have had our project: we have made a most unjust attempt: we have been beaten and been baffled for our pains: we shall nevertheless gain in the end and in this manner what we wanted and we desired; although so very undeservedly. Some persons will possibly reflect here; how much better all these things might have been obtained in peace; but let us draw the veil over that point: discontent and perhaps despair lie that way. These are then my three propositions for the re-union in present and the harmony in time to come of our empire: to withdraw our forces and to leave our Colonies to their own civil governments; to recall our late American laws; to increase the commerce of that country. But if we do not pursue this or some such plan, what is on the other side; except downright madness, the distemper of Moorfields and the politicks of Bedlam?

But will such terms be sufficient and satisfactory in the sight of our countrymen over the Atlantic?—It is but a short time past; that peace was in our own keeping: we wantonly broke it then: the
consent

consent of others must now be required, before it can be restored. We certainly might with our Colonies have again coalesced on these conditions within the period of the present year; but every moon widens the breach between us and adds to our own disgrace and miscarriage. We do ourselves make it difficult to answer for the immediate moment. I trust however, that preliminaries nearly resembling those now mentioned might at least serve for a foundation; whereon to build up once more the temple of peace among us: if that some men at home were but half as much inclined; as they seem to be averse to that measure. A great deal would depend on the manner in which these things were done and every honest man must hope: that our reconciliation should be made, as sincerely and as cordially; as our quarrel was occasioned rashly and inconsiderately. I must however add, that the time now presses; no moment is to be spared; we stand upon the brink of a gulph; the ground crumbles under our feet; no man knows how soon we may sink to rise no more. If the next vernal æquinox (near as it is) does not find us entered into some hopeful and some probable

bable treaty of accommodation ; we shall in all appearance never see again our late provinces under our dominion : but they will hoist the flags of their rising Republics ;* they will set up the standard of their new nation : we must wage war with them, as with a separate people ; the next convention between us will very likely be upon a level and an equality or Great-Britain or England may possibly receive from them the law of the Conqueror. I don't know ; whether the condition of these times is not such ; that even a Minister may be too big to be approached by sincerity ; that he may be surrounded with a circle of flattery : although not quite so wide and so impenetrable, as that of his Master. I know still less ; whether these poor proverbs of mine will ever find their way to any levy of the great : should such a chance however happen ; they may possibly tell a person truths ; which they about him may be backward to speak. The writer will not scruple saying to such a one ; that an instant reconciliation with our countrymen of America on the terms of maintaining
and

* Some of these things have already happened,

and of allowing to them their liberty and their property is the only probable expedient under heaven to preserve his country and perhaps himself. It is however to be feared ; that there is little likelihood of so prudent a step being taken : but this caution may then be possibly one day remembered ; when it will be too late and when the ruin at least of the one, if not of both, shall be irrevocable. If the clock has already struck the last hour ; if the moment of accommodation is even now no more ; what have not some men to answer for ?

Suppose however that America should make an offer or a tender of some fixed, certain, annual contribution : I answer ; that any end may perhaps be better than our present proceedings ; but that we have on our great occasions and exigencies ever received from those provinces most ample help and assistance : whenever we have required or requested it of them. They have equally supported us with their men and their money in war ; as they have benefited us with their trade and their commerce in peace. They are an improving people and our advantages by their means

means might therefore be expected to increase in proportion. Shall we then abandon this bountiful and this plentiful stream constantly flowing in the time of our want and our necessity like the river Nile for some mean, pitiful, artificial rivulet : only because we can measure or can command the waters of the one ; when it is our particular happiness ; that those of the other know no bounds ? What will posterity in that case say of us ; but that as this measure was begun in madness, so it was finished in folly ?

So much for an immediate accommodation ; but our mischief lies deeper : there remains more to be done, if we would employ the fit and the effectual remedy. Our representation is lost or is at least in suspense. It need not be repeated, that a majority of the members of our House of Commons is named by a small part of the people in comparison of the whole : their actions and their resolutions have therefore no necessary connection with the sentiments and the inclinations of the nation at large. The hatchet of this present American war might be buried or be hidden, the subject of our actual

tual contention might be dropped or be settled; but the pride of a prince, the resentment of a favourite, the rapaciousness of a minister, the violence of a faction or any other equally trifling and insignificant cause will ever be sufficient to kindle again the same flame: unless we can for a check and a controul in such cases rely upon the independence and the steadiness of our representatives. The two bodies of our people will at their own choice never wage war with each other and imbrue their hands in the blood of their brethren: their interests are too much united and their mutual affection is overwell founded; but what is the caprice of a single person governed by his passions and having perhaps his head turned with an opinion of his power more to be depended on, than a weather-cock moved with the wind? The circumstance is very little different of a few men; whose actions and whose motions all refer to those of one. The proper redress for this is an equal representation: give me leave to repeat; that it is our original and our fundamental right. It might have been most happy for our empire in general and for Britain in particular; if a demand of this great

great right could in some proper and some peaceable manner have been blended with the just claims of the Americans: that the restoration of our own constitution at home might have gone hand in hand with the re-establishment of the franchises of our fellow-subjects beyond the Atlantic. We might then have hoped for the peace, the union, the harmony of the parts and for the grandeur, the splendor, the prosperity, the stability of the whole; I will not say until time shall be no more, which is not the lot of mortality; but perhaps with a duration and to a degree hitherto unexampled in the history of mankind. We should then have had reason to bless the unfathomable wisdom of Providence for leading us by these broils to so fortunate an end; although not to thank those thoughtless and headlong men, who were the authors of them. But these unhappy troubles exceeding the common course and the peaceable bounds of our constitution seem to have made any such measure now impossible; even if it was not so before. Should however in the future revolutions of fate our late provinces ever come to a considerable power and to an extensive influence among nations;

tions; the best boon, which they can confer upon their dependencies and at the same time the most probable to attach them by a conformity of government to themselves, will be legislative bodies truly and really representative of each respective people. This important object is however with regard to Great-Britain not to be totally despaired of and abandoned or at least not on the account before mentioned: it is nevertheless left for us to pursue among ourselves. These disturbances are now but beginning: but there are in all appearance before us other events, other trials, other exigencies, which will demand all the united wisdom of our nation; the most perfect fidelity of those intrusted by us; the fullest confidence of the public in our parliaments; I say, will require these things on account of the crown, as well as of the country; of the prince, as well as of the subject. Nothing can give us a government attended with these advantages and adequate to our difficulties; except an equal election. It is our business to avail ourselves of the opportunity arising from the personal virtue of the members composing our present

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House of Commons to apply for and to obtain this point. I am perswaded, that we shall not be refused it upon petitions from different parts of the nation, such as become the subject humble, dutiful, respectful; but at the same time exerting the whole force and influence of the constitution. Our present and our approaching situation suffers us no longer to rest in a state of indifference. Corruption has ruined itself; it can no longer retain its rule and its command: that most filthy monster has devoured its own vitals, as well as those of the government. The nation stands at this time on such terms; that we must either perish immediately and deservedly or must recover the constitution for ourselves and for those to come after us: we have however no reason to refuse this condition; the future welfare and greatness of our country are placed before us, as a prize; if we will attempt and will obtain it by means, which are perfectly within our own power. I trust, that the author has no necessity to explain which way are his wishes on the occasion and the heart of every honest man must surely attend him: I cannot
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however deny but that my mind much misgives me, while I am writing these words; the prospect appears very faint on the side of this delusive paradise: would to Heaven; that our real evils and misfortunes were but half as uncertain, half as far removed from effect; as are any such flattering, but it is to be feared, only vain and fanciful conceptions.

It is time, that I should come to my conclusion. I may be told, that I have written freely. I have certainly written from my heart and, I trust, with no more freedom; than is becoming and is demanded by my subject. When the trumpets sound and the drums beat to battle; he had need to speak aloud, who desires to be heard; especially if he preaches peace. When the sea rages and the tempest roars, every one must raise his voice; unless he means to give his words to the winds and the waves. Did a passenger see the ship ready to run upon a rock, in which he was embarked with his all; would it at once not be his duty, his right and his interest to warn the company of their danger and to call upon the pilot to

avoid it? How strange must it be; if it was permitted for some persons to destroy the state and forbidden for others to represent to them, that they are so doing? There is in poetry a beautiful fable of one said to have passed safe through the world below by virtue of the golden branch of a certain tree; which he carried before him. I will not now enquire critically; whether truth is under a fine allegory there figured; but I trust, that whoever holds in his hand that powerful charm and bears in his breast the love of his country; may march free from mischief in any world governed by a benevolent and a beneficent Providence: the writer desires no longer the regard of mankind or the protection of the laws; than he shall continue to be conducted by those two sacred guides nor does he know the preservation of the British empire to be a less noble object, than the foundation of the Roman. He risks his reputation and the ridicule of his neighbours; who ventures to speak frankly about events to come and remaining in the womb of time: that is surely stake enough for any honest man to hazard. The administration

tion have however taken extraordinary care of our credit on this account. It is strange, with what rapidity they have realised the many expectations and apprehensions signified to them of approaching mischiefs. I don't know to what they can in that respect be compared; except to a pilot; who should run upon every beacon placed on purpose to warn him of his danger. Where would then be the wonder, if any one should be emboldened by events; if he should believe himself intitled and warranted to speak freely in future upon the experience and the authority of what had already proved true and taken place? Why do our ministers not make advantage of these circumstances and look into their own conduct; why do they not steer clear of the rocks remarked to them or at least learn to be more wise and more cautious by their errors? Why do they not falsify what people pretend to foresee or to foretell about the evil effects of their measures and silence such persons by shame and by the disappointment of their opinions? The parasites and the sycophants, the placemen and the pensioners of ministers will

by means of the power behind them ever stand on higher ground, than the friends and the advocates of liberty and of the public. Should any one be offended at freedom, let him reflect on the mischief done by flattery; whose poison time-serving and self-interested men are perpetually pouring into the ears of those, where it is most noxious. Let every one prove himself ready to hear the gentle voice of reason; before he blames or impeaches the bolder speech of liberty.

My race is at length nearly run. Providence superintends all things and all nations. The eternal purpose of that transcendent existence appears to be the general and the universal happiness of the whole. He seems to have in the diffusion of his infinite benevolence ordained certain rules and laws, connected certain causes and effects before the birth of time, without beginning and without end. These promote and ensure that most blessed object: their force and their influence can be avoided or eluded by no beings whatsoever: from their fountain flow two important duties among men; that na-
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tions should govern with mercy and with moderation those dependent upon them ; that they should in a proper manner prevent from disturbing the peace of mankind those entrusted by them with their public, combined strength and power. These are perpetual and unalterable rules of right ; they obtain in all places, at all times, on all occasions, whenever and wherever they are applicable ; they particularly and essentially concern us at this instant : we shall serve the supreme purpose in leading others to their safety and their welfare by the example of our misfortunes and our miseries ; if we shall neglect or shall counteract them : we shall serve the same in our own enjoyment of benefits and of blessings ; if we shall observe and shall pursue them. Which of these means we shall chuse depends upon ourselves : our present supineness and indifference in American affairs will satisfy the one ; a more active conduct and exertion of the constitution will be required for the other. We are on the verge of fate ; we are already late in the day : there remains for us no more than a moment of which to avail ourselves : that we may do what will most contribute

contribute to the preservation, the prosperity, the felicity of our empire in general and of Great-Britain in particular is the earnest prayer and desire and, let me be permitted to add, the only design of the writer.

Dec. 1775.

POSTSCRIPT.

ACCOUNTS come from America during the printing of the preceding papers are so material and so important and have in some respects so changed the state of my subject; that I would willingly offer a few words more, before I finish. Our countrymen there are now known to have in great measure possessed themselves of the province of Canada, to have taken prisoners the chief part of the regular forces stationed by us in it for its defence and to have been left besieging Quebec. The war at land seems to be already decided. Some men may be so obstinately bent, as nevertheless to persist in proceeding with it; but it must surely be even in their own conceptions without
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any hopes or almost possibility of success. Our thirteen Colonies are now become so many independent commonwealths and ~~we may perhaps hear before long, that~~ a fourteenth French one is joined and associated to their union. We have ourselves by a late act of parliament very much treated our own, as such: it must be expected; that other states likewise will soon begin to look upon them in the same light. It is power; which gives respect to a people. The Americans will from this time understand themselves to be masters at home and will most likely act in that manner and talk in that tone. They will believe it to depend on themselves; whether they shall again submit to what they will perhaps call our yoke and tell us, that we have made it too heavy for them to bear. These are the actions of our Herculean colonies in their cradle: they have been done by them in the course of one campaign or in less than a twelvemonth; with almost no loss, without allies, without the use of gold or of silver. They cannot have been the single effects either of the wisdom of their counsels or of the weakness

nefs of ours : both the one and the other undoubtedly have in a great degree contributed to them. The winter is withal not weathered : who knows what further events it may yet produce ? Will it be owing to our foresight and our prudence ; if that neither Halifax with our stores nor Boston with our troops follow the fate of Canadian forts ? As our Colonies have risen, so, I am sorry to say, must Great-Britain be sunk ; which we shall certainly find by the effects. We are now by no means the same nation, as we were three years ago. It will be well ; if we shall not soon feel some distress even at sea. The Americans have hitherto refrained from meddling with our mercantile vessels. Will not the late act of parliament exposing all their commerce to our hostilities let them likewise loose upon ours ? Does not it almost seem to be a measure contrived for that very end ? Might we not have waited and have seen ; whether they would have begun this new kind of enmity between us ? Would not that have been at least so much time got and gained to our merchants ? We have declared war against their trade, which is none, and have by that means commisioned

tioned them against our own, which is great. What has at the bottom then been the cause of our many mischiefs?—I will make bold to reply; corruption.—What is the remedy for them?—He must perhaps be more than man who shall answer that. The writer however will for one in this perhaps the last crisis of our country presume to speak his humble opinion: he means his sentiments on a supposition; that the state of things is and will on a fair experience or examination be found much such, as has been here represented. Let us then make in the first place instant peace with our Colonies on the terms of our giving or our leaving to them a full and a free traffic throughout the world, but of their returning again under the former system of our government restrained however from excess; if that they will accept of such conditions. Let us allow the same liberty of commerce to our Islands of the West-Indies and to Ireland. Let us make Great-Britain from one end to the other an intire free port for unexcepted importation and exportation: let us for that purpose abolish all our customs and raise our whole revenue by internal

ternal means. Let us by a real militia
 arm all our people and not a small part of
 them only by a standing army under the
 name of one: let us in this respect imi-
 tate the Americans and defend ourselves
 against others by the same means, as
 they have defended themselves against us.
 Lastly let us establish general and equal
 elections of the members of our House of
 Commons. Let us do these things with-
 out the Americans and on condition only
 of their assistance against other nations; if
 that they shall decline coming once more
 to any nearer connection with us: their
 aid and their help we may one day enough
 want; whatever we now think on that
 head. We may by these means hope to
 preserve under heaven and at all probable
 events our King, our government and our
 country: but whether we are likely so to
 do without taking all and the whole of
 these steps, it may become me to pull the
 veil over my opinion; especially as the
 truth urges and presses me most unwil-
 lingly to say; that there is at present
 hardly the least appearance of our pursu-
 ing any or at best more than one of them.
 Here then I take my final leave, trusting
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that no offence will arise from the offer of fit advice: but may the counsels given by every man among us for his country be upon himself; whether they shall be good or shall be evil.

Jan. 1776.

